

LIFE OF GOETHE



LIFE OF GOETHE

BY HEINRICH DÜNTZER

TRANSLATED BY

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BOOK V

ITALY

SEPTEMBER 1786—JUNE 1788

THE LIFE OF GOETHE

CHAPTER I

THE JOURNEY SOUTHWARD—VENICE—ROME.

IPHIGENIE

SEPTEMBER 1786—FEBRUARY 1787

SOUTHWARD through Bavaria and the Tyrol he hastened, the goal of his longing ever present to his soul. The country and the people he surveyed as he passed with clear free glance. He finds his speculations on rock formation confirmed,¹ as to the classification of plants he sees what a mere beginner he is, he has too long disused looking at pictures, and his eyes need to train anew³.

In Innsbruck he loads himself with specimens of rock. On the Brenner Pass he takes *Iphigenie* from the packet of his writings and he completes (September 9) the first portion of that *Diary* of his journey which he means to send to Charlotte von Stein. In Roveredo (September 11) he is glad at hearing the dear Italian tongue. At Torbole at the head of Garda Lake as the strong south wind drove the waves on the

¹ *Die Italienische Reise* Mittenwald September 7 1786 — Hier wird uns die Arbeit der Stromungen des alten Meeres fasslich —TR.

² *Il d'* Padua September 27 1786 —TR

³ *Ibid* München September 6 1786 —TR

beach, he moulded anew the first soliloquy of his priestess yearning on the Tauric shore for her distant home¹ In Verona (September 14-19) he gave most of his time to the Roman amphitheatre While at Verona he wrote short letters—to the Duke, to Charlotte, to Herder, and to Voigt The letter to Voigt was concerned with the affairs of the Ilmenau Mines In none of these letters did he betray where he was In Vicenza the birthplace of Palladio, whose art is there displayed in so many of his most celebrated buildings, Goethe stayed a week (September 19-26) He admired Palladio's deep judgment in art, his noble simplicity, his unaffected earnestness, and contrasted this seriousness with the extravagance of modern style The beauty of the position of Vicenza impressed him, this city, it will be remembered, is the home of Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister*

In the Botanic Gardens at Padua a fan-palm gives the clearest notion of the series of the metamorphoses of the plant He induces the gardener to cut for him a set of leaves, from original simple leaf to flower, and these he carried like a fetish with him, between pasteboards Amid the multitude of new flowers the conception of the development of all plant-forms from *one* grew more and more vivid²

The charm of Venice detained him three weeks (September 28—October 14), during which he gained a clear and full impression He thought with deep emotion of his father, who would so gladly and lovingly talk of the days he had spent long ago in the wonderful sea-girt city The popular Italian comedy gave him pleasure, but the tragedy and opera left him cold The whole tragic stage seemed empty because the acting

¹ This Goethe tells, *Die Italienische Reise*, Rome, January 6, 1787. Strehlke calls attention to the lines —

“ Und gegen meine Seufzer bringt die Welle
Nur dumpfe Tone brausend mir heruber ”—TR

² These details from Goethe's *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil xxviii, S 70-71 —TR

was not acting—because it sought to produce effect not through being the artistic imitation of action and passion but by the very things said and done before the audience A collection of casts from the antique carried him back to those old glorious days he feels how deficient he is in knowledge but he will go forwards at least he knows the way A bit of the en tablature of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome reminds him of the capital of the Pantheon seen fifteen years ago in Mannheim ¹ he thanks God that he is now delivered from the ' Gothic pipe shank columns sharp little towers flower tracery *Iphigente* which he had pushed on with continually, he leaves aside during the last week of his stay in Venice for restless as he is his time hardly suffices for accomplishing what is most important in the fourth act too he finds a knot that he cannot loosen Before leaving the City of the Lagoon, on October 14 1786 he writes—still without indicating the place—to the Duke to Charlotte and to Herder, to Charlotte he promises his *Diary* which with all collected as yet on his journey he entrusts to carriers that it may not arrive in Weimar before his first letters from Rome

In desolate Ferrara (October 16) where he is filled with uneasy sad memory of the splendid Court that once abode there of Ariosto discontented there of Tasso unhappy he feels a kind of deprivation of joy As he drives in the early morning of October 17 to Cento brooding between waking and dreaming the development of his *Iphigente auf Tauris* there rises to him the conception of an *Iphigenie in Delphi* The pure beauty of the catastrophe—the recognition of Iphigenie by Electra—draws tears of joy from the poet In Cento the native city of Guercino he is astonished and delighted by the simple mild greatness of the many pictures of this old master and by the easy, neat and finished quality of his

¹ See vol 1, p 157 —TR

touch In Bologna (October 18) he rejoices in the St Agatha of Raphael, the painter has given his saint a healthy, secure maidenhood, without, however, coldness or harshness¹. But precisely in Bologna, where so many hitherto unfamiliar masters are revealed to him, he feels how sadly lacking he is in knowledge and judgment To Paderno, hard by, he rides (October 20) for the sake of its celebrated spar, and returns with a heavy load

Through the Apennines he now travels fast, gathering on his way specimens of limestone and granite On the road from Lojano to Giredo the thought of writing an *Ulysses auf Phaa* occurs The restless longing for Rome permits but a three hours' stay in Florence (October 23) Outside Foligno he leaves his *vetturino*, meaning to wander on foot to the church of Santa Maria di Minerva on the hill at Assisi, in juxtaposition with this church as its façade a Roman temple of the time of Augustus is preserved This, the first perfect monument of the classic age which he had seen, impressed him deeply with the power of ancient architecture

All the inconveniences of the journey, the bad inns, the treacherous *vetturini*, dismay him not "Were it on the wheel of Ixion that they dragged me to Rome I would not complain"² As from Spoleto, a town blessed with a huge number of churches and ecclesiastical institutions, he drives in the company of a priest to Terni, he meditates on the uncouth heathenism which has disfigured the kindly Christianity of the apostles Thus his *Ewiger Jude*³ was brought to mind, he had meant in his never written epic to use

¹ "To her," writes Goethe, *Die Italianische Reise*, October 19, 1786, "I will in spirit read aloud my *Iphigenie*, and my heroine shall say nothing that this saint might not utter."—TR

² *Die Italianische Reise*, October 25, 1786 (last sentence) —TR

³ See vol. 1 p. 255 —TR

that word "*zento sterum crucifigi*" spoken says legend by Christ to Peter flying from Rome to avoid martyrdom¹ In the wretched inn at Terni on October 27, 1786 he addresses a "prayer to his dear guardian angel, to Charlotte now not seen for ten weeks For the first time I feel how spoiled I am, to have lived by thee to have been loved by thee ten years—and now in a world that is strange to me!—I foretold it silently and only the highest necessity had compelled me to this resolve Let us have no other thought than to spend the close of life together

Two days later on Sunday October 29 1786 exactly eight weeks from the day of leaving Karlsbad Goethe drove through the Porta del Popolo his heart beating high to think that his dearest wish was now fulfilled—he was entering the Eternal City The unusually cold weather and the unpleasant news that his banker in Rome had failed were unremarkable trifles in this mood of lofty joy

His chief hope was in Tischbein Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein was born at Haina in Hesse on February 15, 1751 After a short residence in Italy he had settled in Zurich and had gained the affection of Lavater there Several years before the time of which we now write Goethe had recommended Tischbein to the Duke of Gotha, who, supplying the money necessary, had sent him to Italy The great picture

¹ And of that legend he is reminded because he thinks that were Christ to return to seek the fruits of his labours he would be in danger of a second crucifixion *Die Italische Reise* October 27 1786 —TR

This is part of the original entry for October 27 1786 It did not pass into *Die Italische Reise* as published When Charlotte von Stein was giving back to Goethe the diaries and letters sent to her from Italy she made copies of some of the passages which were specially important to her This is one of them Another p 29 See Döntz's edition of *Die Italische Reise* p 670 (Hempel's *Goethe Theil x iv*)—TR

Commodin,¹ sent from Italy to the Duke of Gotha, had won the highest praise, yet the Duke gave him no commission for a fresh picture, but only continued to pay a yearly sum for his maintenance, and promised to take him after a time into regular service. As Goethe could do no more with the Duke of Gotha, the closer union with the painter relaxed. Even to Tischbein he must not betray his intention of coming to Rome, yet he had put his hope after the "long weariness" of the journey in the "good" Tischbein.² Tischbein had just sent to Weimar to Goethe a collection of specimens of the marble used by ancient and modern Roman architects,³ and had also engaged in preparing for Goethe a series of copies of the best masters in chalk sepia and water-colour.⁴

A very joyful surprise it was to the painter when the poet of *Gotz*, his inspiring genius,⁵ stood before him, and in a mood of such simple unalloyed friendliness, so anxious for deep and cordial intimacy, that Tischbein could hardly realise it!¹ Goethe desired of the painter a little chamber for sleeping and working in, and a plain daily fare, which Tischbein easily managed. Tischbein's lodgings were on the Corso, on the left from the Porta del Popolo, opposite the Rondinini (also Rondanini) Palace, at the corner of the Vicolo della fontanella, which leads to the Pincian Hill, and down to which run the yard and garden of the house (In 1872 the Common Council of Rome put up a memorial tablet on the house, it is now No. 20). Beside Tischbein Goethe had for fellow-lodgers two young painters. One, his fellow-townsmen

¹ See vol. 1 pp. 444 and 457 —TR

² Goethe to Philipp Seidel, Venice, October 14, 1786 —TR

³ *Die Italianische Reise*, November 18, 1786 —TR

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1786 —TR

⁵ One of Tischbein's pictures was *Gotz von Berlichingen* leading Weisingen into his room —TR

Johann Georg Schutz born 1755, whose gay and easy disposition earned him the title *il Barone* had now spent two years in Rome the other, Friedrich Bury of Hinau, born 1763 had been in Rome since 1780 was of a very sociable and cheery though stormy nature and completely naturalised in Rome having come thither so young Thus was Goethe's inner circle composed Tischbein lived on the first story, on the second Goethe had a small sitting room commanding a wide prospect over the Pincian Hill off this was his bedroom. So full of interest and delight were the first few days that only by the second post after his arrival did he confide to his mother that he was in Rome¹

In a week he had gained a general conception of the city

We go busily hither and thither I make myself familiar with the plans of ancient and modern Rome survey the ruins the buildings visit this villa or that the things most worthy of note are treated very slowly I but gaze attentively and go and come again² The Pantheon the Cathedral of St Peter, and the Apollo Belvedere, especially moved him of none of them can drawings or casts give a notion,³ but when he saw the Colosseum in the twilight all else seemed small⁴ In contrast with the haste of the journey and his former passionate yearning he now felt an unused calm and clearness a seriousness without dryness and a composed frame with joy⁵ Yet it pained him to think that all he saw was in ruin He read deep in Vitruvius on architecture and in Palladio in whose time many buildings now ruined were still entire And the gladder less interrupted plant life of Italy attracted him He

¹ Goethe to his mother Rome Nov 4 1786 First published in *Goethe Briefe aus Frit Schlossers Nachlass* 1877 S 99 —TR

² *De Italiani: le Reise* Nov 5 1786 —TR

³ *Ibid* Nov 9 1786 —TR

⁴ *Ibid* Nov 11 1786 —TR

⁵ *Ibid* Nov 10 1786 —TR

made some very "pretty observations"¹ His source of his highest pleasure was the intercourse with Tischbein, in whom he saw not merely a gifted and experienced artist but a good and wise man,² and who adhered to him with deep and earnest friendship. In the drawings and sketches of Tischbein, especially those which depict the first stages of the human culture, Goethe notices the vivid and fruitful mode of treatment; there was a good deal of discussion between them of the plan of producing a work of art in co-operation.³

So early as the third day (Nov. 2) after his arrival in Rome Goethe had become acquainted at the Quirinal with the Swiss painter, Heinrich Meyer, and afterwards felt constantly more drawn towards him by the thoroughness of his knowledge and by his honesty of heart. Meyer, born at Zurich in March 1760, and furthered by the instruction of Fuseli, had, two years before the time of which we now write, come with his friend Colla to Rome, where the two studied the best works of art, read diligently in the history of art, and copied successfully from antiques and from paintings, not omitting, however, to attempt original work also.

Not so intimate and genial was Goethe's connection with the antiquary, Aloys Hirt of Baden, of a somewhat dry nature, remarkable rather for his scholarship than for original power. Hirt was now twenty-six, in Vienna seven years ago he had devoted himself to art, he had been in Italy since 1782, he was hard-working and inspired with the best purpose. Goethe did his utmost to help Hirt, who was without means, to employment as a cicerone.⁴

Another resident in Rome was the poet and painter, Fried-

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 17, 1786 —TR

² Goethe to Karl August, Dec. 12, 1786 —TR

³ *Die Italiäische Reise*, Nov. 7, 1786 —TR

⁴ Goethe to Wieland, Nov. 17, 1786 —TR

rich Muller, born at Kreuznach half a year before the birth of Goethe with whom during the *Sturm und Drang* period he had had intercourse. When in 1778 Muller went to Rome Goethe undertook to send him every year a sum subscribed by Weimar friends. In November 1780 Goethe writes to Muller, asking what truth there is in the report that he has become a Catholic. 'It makes no change in our relations only if it is a fact I should like to be able to tell those who inquire what the real circumstances are and if it were not true to be able to contradict with authority.' The pictures which Muller afterwards sent to Weimar pleased no one and Goethe wrote in June 1781 finding fault and counselling in the friendliest way. Then came a breach between them. Muller's high self esteem made reconciliation impossible, nay his grudge deepened when he heard of Goethe's helping Tischbein with the Duke of Gotha, and now was he actually to see Tischbein Goethe's most intimate friend and the poet besides condescending to young painters whom Muller considered far beneath himself in merit.

Another with whom Goethe became acquainted in the earliest period of his life in Rome was *Hofrath* Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein the business man of his friend the Duke of Gotha. Born in Prussian Lithuania on the 22d of November 1729 Reiffenstein had lived in Rome since 1762. He had known Winckelmann there and since Winckelmann's death had been the chief cicerone. Since 1780 he had been a *Hofrath* not only of Gotha but of Russia. He stood in high repute at the Russian Court. In the History of Art he was a staunch follower of Winckelmann in the Theory of Art of Sulzer, in the practical rules of Art, of Mengs. He revered Raphael above all other painters whereas many artists of that time gave Michael Angelo the palm. To this man of such significance in the art life of Rome Goethe drew very

close, accommodating himself wisely to his peculiarities Reiffenstein had a large villa at Frascati, close to the ancient Alba. There Goethe visited him on November 14, 1786, and spent a few delightful days in a neighbourhood full of all that was new and charming.

It was not until after his return from Frascati that he held himself a naturalised citizen of Rome, and only then did he write (Nov 17, 1786), telling the Duke, Charlotte, Herder, Wieland, and other Weimar friends, where he was. He added a few lines to Fritz Stein, who is to make himself comfortable in Goethe's room. All these letters were enclosed with that addressed to the Duke, who should be the first, after Goethe's mother, to know that his Privy Councillor was in Rome. The Duke was just then in Berlin, thence, on December 2, 1786, he sent the Weimar letters to Charlotte von Stein, who thus did not hear the news until December 4, 1786. Henceforward Goethe wrote to her every Sunday, generally to Herder also, who of all friends understood him best. (By accidental delay, the *Diary* of the journey as far as Venice did not come into Charlotte's hands until the middle of January 1787.)

Goethe only now became acquainted with Karl Philipp Moritz, although Moritz had come to Rome a couple of days earlier than he. The author of the novel *Anton Reiser* (based on the strange story of his own life) had, in his *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*,¹ written a book so successful, that the publisher Campe advanced him money for a visit to Italy, that Moritz might produce a like book on this El Dorado of Nature and Art. He was very powerfully impressed by Goethe, whose junior he was by eight years. On the 20th of November 1786, Moritz writes that a few days ago he had a walk to the Villa Pamphil, in company with Goethe and some artists who live with him, and this walk "has introduced me to a new world."

¹ *Travels of a German in England* -- TR

of ideas and noble impressions. Intercourse with him [Goethe] brings fulfilment of the fairest visions of my youth and his advent is to me as to others—an unlooked-for piece of good fortune. For with all the beauties of Nature and of Art there is yet nothing higher than the harmonious interchange of thought by which alone obscure feelings gain expression and conscious existence. There were in Moritz good qualities which attracted Goethe—pleasant social frankness, warm sympathies, clear perception, an earnest endeavour after insight into the reality of things which last indeed often over-refined into useless minuteness. And Moritz's studies in history and antiquities were helpful to Goethe who used himself to read diligently in the *Livy* which he had ere this bought from one of the booksellers on the Corso who expose for sale all the classics in tiny volumes at a moderate price.

Feeling his deficiency in technical knowledge Goethe used generally to view buildings, antiques and paintings in the company of architects, sculptors and painters. (Among the sculptors he chiefly esteemed Alexander Trippel from Schaffhausen, who born five years earlier than Goethe and having spent a considerable time in Copenhagen and Paris had now been ten years in Rome.) Yet after all his efforts to enter into the spirit of the works of art he felt not yet able to cope with them, their splendour dazed him—they kept his powers on the stretch and yet he could find no entrance into the secret life of them, they afforded him no joy¹.

It was about this time that in the morning hours of each day he again began work on the re-writing of *Iphigenie*. But in the midst of this task a 'sad domestic trouble' (*loser*

¹ Goethe to Knebel November 17 1786 — Doch ist's Anstrengung statt Genusses und Trauer statt Freude —TR

² See in Hempel's *Goethe* Theil xxii, § 698 Dunter's quotation from a letter of Tischbein's dated December 9 1786 —TR

Hauskreuz") came upon the little circle of friends When Goethe, about the 6th of December 1786, with Tischbein and two other artists (probably Bury and Schutz), drove to the Fiumicino mouth of the Tiber, they were accompanied by Moritz and another friend on horseback On their way home, when they were near the Porta Sixtina, Moritz fell from his horse and broke his left arm Goethe proved himself a true friend , he had the sufferer brought home in an arm-chair, cared for his wants, visited him more than once every day during the month of lying still, watched by his bedside several nights, and arranged that this office should be performed every night by one of the German artists in turn (thus Moritz was hardly ever left without a friend at hand), and also wrote to Campe for him. Notwithstanding all this anxiety, *Iphigenie* was completed by the 12th of December 1786¹ He would never have ventured on turning his prose into iambics without the guidance of the treatise, *Versuch einer Deutschen Prosodie*, published by Moritz in that year²

He continued to traverse the city almost to weariness He thought that his schooling in Rome should close for the present at Christmas, 1786 In the beginning of the new year he would go to Naples, accompanied by the "good, the noble (and yet so sagacious) the cultivated" Tischbein , there in the glories of Nature "to wash my soul clean from the Idea of so many dreary ruins, and to assuage the too severe conceptions of Art"³ Then, immediately after Easter 1787, he thought he should turn his steps homewards

In Rome at that time, accompanied by a certain Abate Tacchi, was stopping the Prince Karl Borromäus von Liechtenstein, a brother of the Countess von Harrach, whom Goethe

¹ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786 —TR

² *Die Italienische Reise*, January 10, 1787 —TR

³ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786 —TR

honoured. The Prince was but twenty-one. He had met Goethe in Karlsbad and when he heard that the poet was in Rome he begged Hirt to bring them together. Their meeting took place in the Doria Gallery, but Goethe adhered to his incognito, though he was persuaded into dining a few times with the Prince. Thus it was that he met the Abate Monti (born 1754 in the Duchy of Ferrara) whose new tragedy *Ariste d'oro* was soon coming out. Goethe had to listen to the author reading this aloud. Though he did not conceal his doubt that the excellent piece would be well received in a theatre he promised to come with his friends to see it and to pay the poet the deserved applause.¹ Abate Tacchi would fain have translated *Iphigenie* into Italian.

All intercourse with persons of rank—Prince Liechtenstein excepted—was refused by Goethe. He wished to live a free human life in Rome and certainly nothing could be further from his desire than to exhibit himself as a nobility. Thus we find him firmly declining to be introduced to the daughter of the English Pretender (who then lived in Rome as Count Albany). Goethe could not indeed but rejoice to observe that he was known in Rome beyond all expectation, the Germans especially being taken with him. But when they seriously proposed to crown him at the Capitol he forbade the farce.²

¹ *Die Italische Kritik* November 3 1786—TR

² *Ib d.* January 4 1787—TR

³ Besides *Die Italische Kritik* January 4 1787 (end) see Goethe to Karl August December 1 1786—TR

⁴ *Die Italische Kritik* January 4 1787 and see Dünzler's quotation from a letter of Tischbein to Lavater December 9 1786 in Hempel's *Goethe* xxiv 698. Goethe can hardly be said to have rejoiced in his notoriety when he writes — Wie das Alles zusammenhangt und wie ich ein grosser Thor ware zu glauben dass das Alles um meinetwillen geschahe dererinst mundlich — TR.

Though by the middle of December 1786 he had several times seen what was most significant and what was best in Rome, he yet felt—unlike the greater number of travellers—how little in such matters to have *seen* means¹ Beside the mighty buildings, the Apollo of the Belvedere and Raphael's Loggia, must be mentioned the colossal heads of the so called Smiling Jupiter, the Juno Ludovisi, and the Medusa Rondinini, which had so won his love that he did not rest until he possessed casts of them The stupendous creation of Michael Angelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, overpowered and possessed the poet, and after it he could not find delight in Raphael's Loggia² And beside these single and peculiar great works he was met at every step by so much else of significance that he had simply to yield himself up, to let all work upon him while the due growth proceeded within³ Striving after that all-sidedness from which alone proceeds perfect knowledge, his attention was engaged by many things —by the history of Rome, by the history of ancient Art, by the study of antiquities, of coins, and what not⁴ Even Roman politics and administration could not escape the Weimar statesman⁵ December, a month which had always been so unfavourable to him in Weimar, sent him to botanical observations again—his first southern December, when grass and herbs sprouted for the second time, meadows and squares grew green again, and the many evergreens refreshed the sight And through this stimulation of all his powers of thinking and acting, he felt a strong current of life penetrate

¹ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786—TR

² *Die Italianische Reise*, December 2, 1786 See M. Theophile Cart's remark on this in his *Goethe en Italie*, p. 59—TR

³ *Die Italianische Reise*, this thought three or four times repeated in the entries of the beginning of December 1786—TR

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1786, January 4, 1787—TR

⁵ See, for instance, Goethe to Karl August, January 10, 1787—TR

his whole being, he thinks that he is changed to the very marrow—in truth born again¹

The impossibility of leaving Rome so soon had impressed itself on him when a 'gracious sympathetic letter' from the Duke of Weimar granted him unlimited leave of absence besides his friends wrote exhorting him not to hurry. Accordingly he made up his mind not to start for Naples until the first week in Lent he would get back to Rome before Easter visit Florence in the summer and in the autumn of 1787 commence his homeward journey. Sicily too he had thought of but it seemed to him that he could only go thither after considerable preparation, in the autumn and must then stay there until the end of the year, a plan which would only bring him home in the spring of 1788. But these plans were deranged by news that the Duke had had a fall from his horse in Berlin.²

Meanwhile Tischbein had designed a great painting—*Goethe outside Rome*. The poet was to appear clad in a great white mantle a large soft hat on his head, reclining on an overturned Egyptian obelisk before him a broken Greek *reliero* and behind that the capital of a Roman pillar. In his glance wandering over the Campagna, one should read the thought of the perishable nature of all earthly splendour, and in the distance were to be seen the tombs that border the Appian Way and other Roman ruins against the background of the Alban Mount.³ When Goethe first speaks of this

¹ The following references will here be found interesting—*Die Italiatische Reise*, December 2 3 13 -o 1786 Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha February 6 1787 *Zur Römischer Aufenthalt* December 21 1787 —TR

² Einen gutigen mitfühlenden Brief *De Italianische Reise* January 4 1787 —TR ³ *Die Italianische Reise* January 4 1787 —TR

⁴ See the contemporary description of this design quoted by Duntzer from Wieland's *Merkur* Hempel's *Goethe* xxiv 707 8 —TR

design (*Die Italianische Reise*, December 29, 1786) Tischbein had already stretched the canvas, and on the 18th of February 1787 Goethe notes how Tischbein has procured a small



FIG. 1 Tischbein's painting, *Goethe outside Rome*. From the Frankfurt *Gedenkblätter an Goethe*.

bronze model which he covers with the mantle, and how he is working diligently that the picture may be brought to a certain point before they leave for Naples. On June 27, 1787, Goethe notes that his portrait is going on well, it was

not finished until a later time Karl von Rothschild bought it in Italy and brought it to Frankfurt. The *relievo* represents Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia We give an engraving of the picture as it finally stands There are copies of Tischbein's first design in existence, the *relievo* is different and on the obelisk you see hieroglyphic writing Tischbein had also begun a picture, *Hector and Paris* for the Duke of Gotha probably at Goethe's prompting¹

In the meantime the *Custode* of the ancient sadly declined Arcadian Academy of Rome had been setting in motion every agency which could help to persuade the great German poet to join the society The influence of the Prince von Liechtenstein was brought into service To escape the Capitoline laurel about which they continued to plague him the poet yielded himself to be an Arcadian shepherd On January 4 1787 he appeared in the Academy's Hall of Session was summoned forth by the name Megalio³ and the fields of Mel pomene were assigned to him On the same day he begged Charlotte to call a council of those who loved him (Herder and Knebel), to decide whether he should return to Weimar at once a course to which he himself inclined The strongest influence to keep me in Italy is Tischbein never even though it were my fate to visit this beautiful land again can I learn so much in so short a time as I can at present in the society of this man cultivated experienced, fine in feeling

¹ Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha February 6 1787 Hempel's *Goethe* xxiv 730 —TR.

² English readers will find a delightful account of this Academy in Vernon Lee's *Italy the Eighteenth Century* —TR

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein January 4 1787 — And I received the name Megalio *per causa della grandezza or grandiosità delle mie opere* as the gentlemen were pleased to express themselves (Note how in the *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* Goethe misdates by a whole year this reception) — TR

extraordinarily friendly to Goethe, to whom his manifold knowledge of art and wide acquaintance were of great service. When visiting the Prince one evening Goethe was asked what literary work at present occupied him? He mentioned *Iphigenie* and gave the Prince a detailed account of its contents, but did not find much interest awakened.¹

On January 10, 1787, Goethe writes to the Duke of Weimar — I wait painfully until I hear that you are again at home and that no bad results are to be feared and I entreat you, recall me if you think I am in the least wanted As surely as I could remain here with profit for years so surely have I already plucked the topmost blossoms of the Great and Beautiful and can go in the strength of it all my life And the results have I feel been blessed to my spirit also which grows gladder more open more ready to give and receive sympathy The most important subject on which I at present exercise eye and intellect is the styles of the various ancient peoples, and the epochs of each style as to which Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst* is a trustworthy guide With the help of friendly artist eyes and my own talent for combination I seek as far as possible to discover and supplement many a thing which Winckelmann himself would give us if this year he could prepare a new edition In studying Winckelmann after this fashion he received especially valuable aid from Meyer this man's worth grew constantly more clear to Goethe A little farther on the letter which we have been quoting refers thus to Meyer — I have been repeatedly thinking about our Drawing Academy, and I have found a man of the kind we shall need after Krauss's departure if we are to get to more solid work As to the influence which I had on the Academy, I used always to

¹ This Goethe tells only in the entry March 1 1787 —TR

² Compare *Die Italianische Revue* January 13 1787 —TR

feel that I did not understand it, now I know the why and wherefore"

A Swiss had copied out *Iphigenie* in clean manuscript for him. This play Goethe now read aloud to the circle of more intimate artist friends, but, owing to its repose, it had not the fine effect on them which he had hoped¹. As he read aloud he underlined verses which did not yet flow well, some of these he altered, others he left to receive touches from Herder's pen. He directed Seidel (January 13) to submit the manuscript of *Iphigenie* to Herder before it passed on to the printer.

About this time it was that Goethe made one of his most resultful acquaintanceships, that of Angelika Kauffmann. Born at Bregenz on the 30th of October 1741, she was already a distinguished painter in Rome in 1763. In 1769 she went to London and stayed there until 1780, when she returned to Rome. To escape her state of single loneliness she married the painter Antonio Zucchi, a Venetian advanced in years. Angelika (thus she was generally spoken of) was indeed an angelic soul, full of tender womanhood, sympathetic, pure, ardent, and Goethe felt a deep and exquisite attraction in her. She worked in her art rapidly and restlessly, her pictures were remarkable for lightness of touch, grace, brightness. One day when Goethe and Reiffenstein were at her house, she expressed the wish to hear *Iphigenie* read aloud, on this occasion Goethe was only able to give an abstract, but the ardour of his manner affected deeply even Angelika's husband.²

With the thorough earnestness of his nature, which everywhere desired to press to the essence of things, he now strove

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 10, 1787. The young artists had expected "etwas Berlichingisches," Goethe tells us.—TR

² *Ib^d*, January 22, 1787.—TR

to appropriate to himself in all its aspects that Rome which had grown so familiar He laboured diligently to discover the rules after which the ancient sculptors have developed from the human figure the perfectly concluded circle of divine form to discover their technique in the treatment of the body he supposed that they had proceeded by the same laws as did Nature¹ nay he believed himself to be now on the track of Nature only he found something in her which he could not express The skeleton was to him no longer a cluster of bones cunningly grouped together he contemplated it together with the clothing of flesh and ligament which gave it motion and life.² In the evenings he studied perspective.

And now with the warm spring weather waked anew the delight in sketching the fair landscape A fortnight was spent in going "through the depths and heights of the villas outlining on small sheets striking, characteristically Roman views, to the outlines he afterwards strove to give light and shade It is very strange that one may see and know clearly what is good and what is better, and let him try to make it his own—it disappears as it were under his hands and we seize not that which is right but that which we have been used to hold Meanwhile however I feel myself greatly improved by the fortnight of passionate endeavour³

The theatres—seven opened with the beginning year—profited him little, he visited them hardly at all only in *Aristodemo*⁴ and some comedies did he find any pleasure The

¹ Compare the letter of September 6 1787 *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* —TR

Die Italische Reise January 10 1787 —TR

³ *Ib d* February 17 1787 See also Goethe to Knebel February 19 1787 —TR

⁴ *Aristodemo* was after all acted amid great applause *Die Italische Reise* January 15 1787 —TR

Grand Opera seemed a "monster without the vigour and sap of life," even the *opera buffa* lacked finish and completeness, but a new intermezzo by Anfossi was "happily composed," and was played with great applause¹ He asks Kayser how it stands with the composing of *Scherz, List, und Rache*, and when the piece can be published, and he mentions that he thinks of writing a new opera²

The friendship with Angelika grew closer When he read aloud *Iphigeme* she received it with "incredible depth of feeling," and she promised him a drawing from it³ From her he parted with regret, though he longed to leave Rome, the endeavours of the latter part of his stay to see as much as possible of the exhaustless scattered fragmentary city having been very wearying The mad doings of the Carnival, especially noisy in the streets about his lodging, had only a historical interest for him, he could not find anything in them to sympathise with, his approaching departure weighed upon him, and amid all the tumult of the festival it was evident that real light-heartedness was absent, and under that bad government the Romans had not money enough to give vent to the little bit of pleasure they might feel⁴

He hoped that when next he saw Rome he should have new strength and hope, and thus should gain a deeper and clearer impression of the Eternal City, and take away with him to his home the perfect idea of antique art, to serve for the joy and profit of himself and his friends in future years

¹ Goethe to Kayser, February 6, 1787, Goethe to Karl August, February 10, 1787 —TR

² See the letter which Burkhardt (p 37) dates November 25, 1786, *Goethe und Kayser*, 64-65 —TR

³ *Die Italienische Reise*, February 15, 1787 —TR

⁴ *Ibid*, February 21, 1787 —TR

CHAPTER II

NAPLES AND SICILY

FEBRUARY-JUNE 1787

ON the morning of February 7 1787 a carriage drove out of Rome bearing Goethe southwards Tischbein, who had been a few times to Naples already, was his companion The four days spent on the road were notwithstanding the bad inns rich in manifold enjoyment They reached Naples on February 25 At sight of the wonderful scenery Goethe was after his fashion perfectly quiet only making when it became too mad great great eyes 'I pardoned all who lose their senses in Naples and thought with emotion of my father who had retained an indelible impression especially of the objects which I to day saw for the first time And as it said that one to whom a phantom has appeared never again is glad, so might it be said of my father that he could never be altogether unhappy because he was constantly thinking him self back to Naples ¹

The easy joyous life of Naples was very welcome to one so exhausted as Goethe had been by his toils in Rome but his German turn of mind and desire rather to learn and to act

¹ *Die Italienische Reise* February 7 1787 Compare September 8 November 1 1786 for mention of Goethe's father —TR

than to enjoy,"¹ did not permit him to lapse into the divine indolence of the place. Through Tischbein he learned to know the painter Lodovico Venuti, a great favourite with the King. Tischbein, too, it was who conducted Goethe to Philipp Hackert, a celebrated landscape painter. Hackert, a native of Prenzlau, was now in his fiftieth year. He had come to Rome in 1768, and in 1785 left Rome for Naples, at the invitation of the King, into whose service he was taken. Another with whom Goethe became acquainted was Gaetano Filangieri, the author of *La scienza della legislazione*, a work long known and valued by Goethe. Filangieri was now two and fifty, he had been appointed First Councillor of Finance by the King. At Filangieri's house Goethe met Filangieri's sister, the Princess Belmonte, a type of charming Neapolitan frivolity united with unaffected goodness of heart.

He visited Pozzuoli on the 1st of March 1787, in the company of the Prince of Waldeck. Vesuvius was three times ascended (March 2, March 6, and March 20). The churches and most of the art treasures of Naples were seen, and Pompeii, and the island of Ischia, so full of interest to the mineralogist.²

The Prince of Waldeck pressed Goethe in vain to go with him to Albania and Dalmatia. The poet could not withstand the longing for Sicily, where the ruins of Greek temples testified to the beauty and greatness of ancient Greek architecture. The doubt whether he ought to go or stay troubled with disquiet a good deal of his stay in Naples. It was also a grief to him that in his journey to Sicily he could not have the companionship of Tischbein, who was forming the friendships and connections which should at a future time procure him

¹ *Die Italianische Reise*, March 22, 1787 —TR

² On the visit to Ischia see Duntzer's edition of *Die Italianische Reise* Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv pp 571, 813 —TR

an appr. sum in N., or wh. h' t' present value of
100.

The first statement of the sum, & of the last
scrapings on Ch. CH & other var. sculps. from
Tassan's chart, & for first assessment, I
admit. This collection is now in the
one place, not in three & more. On the 1st of
February, in the year 1811, at Ch. CH, was
by Dr. C. a present of a collection of
buildings and landscapes, and he left to Valdelsa a
social estate. The sum given by the Doctor to
the collector does not, however, appear to be fully paid.

He has deducted the sum of 1000 £. from
the stock of the property, also
more or less, & he has a balance of
1000 £. on of an 1000 £. of the collection, &
concerning this sum, and in "his" name, it is
recorded with us, may be to be paid. On a few days
back before his departure, when he stopped at
San Quirico a son of them¹ began, after passing rest
in Tuscany, to go to Ch. CH, & he had
complied the price of the 1000 £. he paid him. In July
beginning, and of 111 p.m. there three days (11, 12, 13) he
spent with Hackert in his studio, & it was in the old castle
at Gaeta. There Coelle drew up to the satisfaction of
Hackert. This painter was remarkable for his correct eye
delicate treatment, for rural scenes and a vivid sense for the
line of landscape. He granted that Coelle had said to him
that he could produce nothing because he lacked designs
in touch, clearest, certainly in treatment. Say with me
eighteen months said the painter, and you shall produce
something that will give pleasure to yourself and to others.

¹ *Der Falstaff* for March 23, 1815.—Tr.

² *Id.* March 24, 1 March 18, 1815.—Tr.

The old English ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, was the possessor of a splendid art-collection Goethe visited him and saw his beautiful mistress, Emma Harte, who, then but twenty-five, had already known strange fortunes The ease with which this lady assumed all the positions and gestures that many artists toil after in vain, astonished Goethe, though he felt that the "beautiful entertainer" was without soul¹

What he had long ventured to hope—that in this beautiful Italy his observations on plant life would receive confirmation—did really happen On March 25, 1787, as he walked by the sea in a calm and pleasurable frame, "a good illumination" came to him "I beg you to tell Herder that I shall soon have the type-plant, only I fear that no one will recognise the rest of the vegetable kingdom in it. My famous doctrine of the cotyledons is so sublimed that it will be almost impossible to go farther"² And he gained clear elucidation of the rock and lava formations of Vesuvius All disposition to creative, poetic activity was absent during his stay in Naples When, at noon on the 29th of March 1787, he went with Kniep on board the corvette that was to convey them to Palermo, he took with him the two acts of *Tasso*³ written in Weimar

The *Diary* which Goethe kept for Charlotte von Stein gives the most vivid picture of this journey to Sicily As a landscape-painter he gained altogether new thoughts from the "great simple line" of the sea-boundary When he felt seasickness approaching, he went to his cabin, and lying there, shut off from the external world, let the mind have full sway, thinking the new plan of *Tasso* "over and over, through and through, in sleep and in half waking" The sight of Palermo,

¹ So he notes *Die Italienische Reise*, May 27, 1787 —TR

² *Ibid.*, March 25 Part of a letter to Charlotte von Stein —TR

³ See vol 1 pp 387, 395, 399, 433 —TR

with the most beautiful of all the promontories in the world¹ overpowered him. He felt constrained to read the *Odyssey* which in Sicily for the first time became to him a living word.² In the Public Gardens of Palermo he brooded over the conception of a drama, *Nausikaa* he wrote down the plan and even began its execution but in the presence of the rare southern plant life the old whim came upon him might not he discover the type plant amid the throng? And as the garden of this world revealed itself the garden of Alcinous vanished.³ On April 1st Goethe derived much pleasure and profit from a visit to the collection of medals of Prince Torremuzza.

Never in his life he writes to Fritz Stein on April 17, had he spent so many consecutive days so bright and happy as the sixteen spent in Palermo. On the same day he wrote to Charlotte —⁴ What joy does my little bit of knowledge of the things of nature bring me every day and how much more ought I to know that my joy might be full. That which I prepare for you prospers in my hands. Already have I shed tears of joy to think that I shall give you joy. My heart is with you."

On the 18th of April 1787 our travellers left Palermo

¹ So Goethe calls Monte Iellegriño. *Die Ital. ans. Reise* April 3 1787 —TR

² *Die Ital. ans. Reise* April 7 1787 — Die schwärzlichen Wellen am nordlichen Horizonte ihr Anstreben an die Buchtkrümmungen selbst der eigene Geruch des dunstenden Meeres das Alles rief mir die Insel der seligen Phaaken in die Sinne so wie ins Gedächtniss Ich eilte sogleich einen Homer zu kaufen —TR

³ Goethe to Herder *Die Ital. ans. Reise* May 17 1787 —TR

⁴ *Die Ital. ans. Reise* April 16 and 17 1787 —TR

⁵ A memorandum of the chief places touched on is not amiss here. They are—Alcamo Segesta Castel Vetrano Sciacca Girgenti Caltanissetta Castro Giovanni Catania Taormina Messina —TR

to traverse by no very direct route the fruitful land, and take ship finally from Messina. On the way Goethe observed the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, and was pleased with the excellent cattle. But the chief interest of the journey was, of course, the architecture of the ruined Greek temples at Segeste and Girgenti (Selinus they did not visit), the antiquities, statues, and coins in Catania, and the Greek theatre at Taormina. By the advice of the celebrated naturalist, Gioeni, they only ascended Mount Ætna as far as the Monti Grossi. Messina, which not long before (February 1783) had suffered by an earthquake, was reached by our travellers on May 8, 1787. On May 14, after a tedious and dangerous voyage,¹ Goethe arrived in Naples again, "right happy to have the great, beautiful, incomparable idea of Sicily, so clear, so perfect, so unmixed with baser matter"². The numerous sketches which Kniep had made during the journey were divided, some of them the painter was to finish at a fixed price for Goethe.

In Naples he heard, through a letter from Seidel, that in Weimar many people thought that Goethe would not return, and accordingly uttered their minds upon him freely. He is, they said, wasting the good salary on this journey while others are sweating under his work. Tischbein and Hackert were not in Naples at the time of Goethe's return, they had gone to Rome for a short stay.

On May 15 Goethe and Kniep visited Paestum a second time. Of the temple ruins there he writes (May 17) — "It is the last, and I might almost say noblest, Idea which I now

¹ In Mr Hutton's Essay on Goethe there is admirable comment on Goethe's behaviour in the danger. It is perhaps a pity that Prof Duntzer passes over the incident, and over another almost as interesting—the adventure at Malsesina on September 13, 1786.—TR

² Goethe to Herder, *Die Italianische Reise*, May 17, 1787.—TR

can bear northwards in its perfectness. And, in my opinion the central temple is superior to anything at present to be seen in Sicily. In Knieps company he revisited Pozzuoli (May 19), in order to discover if possible an explanation of the present condition of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Serapis he formed a remarkable theory¹. Portici also was visited a second time. The theatre, which hitherto during his Italian journey had given him so little pleasure now did amuse him, yet he sees that he is too old for these jests.

He derived great pleasure from a letter of the Duke's which now came announcing the election of Dilberg as *Coadjutor* of the Elector of Mainz and acknowledging in the most flattering way Goethe's diligence in office during the past ten years. The Duke announced his intention of appointing Schmidt² Vice President of the Board of Finance, leaving Goethe the direction still. Goethe thought Schmidt very fit for the post but thought it not well that one member of the Privy Council should be subordinate to another in his capacity as member of the Board of Finance. Would the Duke relieve Goethe of his burden of financial cares and appoint Schmidt President of the Board formally or informally? 'My single desire was to know you master of your own. All that you do towards ordering things after your own pleasure cannot be other than pleasurable to me. Make this change when you think fit, and as you think fit! By the beginning of September I shall I hope be in Frankfurt. If I can then remain

¹ Of this visit Goethe makes no mention in *Die Italienische Reise*. He tells of it in the essay *Architektonisch naturhistorisches Problem* in the portion of his writings called *Naturphilosophische Entwürfe* (Hempel's *Goethe* xxiv. 23). His theory is not the true one.—TR

² Goethe to Karl August May 27 1787 from this letter is also derived the main substance and the quotation of the next paragraph — TR

³ See vol. 1 p. 418 — TR

awhile with my mother, bringing the last four volumes of my *Works* into order, perfecting the observations made on my journey, perhaps labouring on *Wilhelm* and some other ideas, I shall find myself lightened of a great burden, for these tasks must, after all, be left behind me some time My relations with business have their origin in my personal relations with you, and now, after so many years, let a new relation with you proceed from these relations of business which have subsisted hitherto I am ready for each and every use that you wish to make of me Question me concerning the symphony that you have a mind to play, I will gladly at any time speak my opinion . Already I see what service the journey has done me, how it has enlightened me and gladdened my existence As you have borne with me to the present, care for me further and benefit me more than I can myself, than I dare to wish and desire Give me back to myself, to my country—give me back to yourself, that I may begin a new life, and with you! I have seen a great and beautiful portion of the earth, and the result is, that I can only bear life with you and in your land (*in dem Thürigen*) If I can live there less overwhelmed with details—for which I am not born—I can live to your joy and the joy of many men!"

Goethe's departure from Naples was delayed by the arrival of the Prussian ambassador, the Marchese Lucchesini There was a great deal of pleasure in acquaintance with this accomplished man of the world,¹ who told the poet the last political news, and enlightened him as to the world's affairs Many

¹ Goethe says of Lucchesini, *Die Italienische Reise*, June 1—"He appears to me one of those men who have a good moral stomach, thus retaining always a power of sympathetic enjoyment at the table of the world, a contrast to one of our sort, who at times, like ruminant animals, fills himself to excess, and then can take in nothing more until he has finished a process of repeated chewing and digesting —TR "

other interesting persons were met by Goethe at this time but attractive as they were he felt that in Naples he was growing continually more inactive and was swerving from the path that led to his real goal¹. At length he tore himself with an effort from the bewitching city though he would have been only too glad to remain and observe close at hand the lava stream that at length began to pour down towards the sea from the summit of Vesuvius. He overcame also the endeavour of Venuti to delay him who had indeed a special reason in so doing as he at length explained. Shortly before Goethe's departure he had another friendly letter from the Duke, urging him not to over hasten in his return. And from that time forward he had made up his mind to remain in Rome until his birthday. He parted with much sadness from the worthy Kniep. At the custom house of the Chiaja on June 3 1787, as Goethe waited for the *retturino* he with surprise saw Kniep emerge from the coffee stall bearing a cup of coffee which he offered to Goethe meaning by the act a symbol of what was due from him to Goethe for all his love and goodness and beneficial influence on my whole life.

They were never to see each other again but Kniep until the end thought with love and reverence of the poet who had lifted up his life so. He never left Naples became a Professor of the Academy there and there died seven years before Goethe.

¹ *De Italiantsche Reise* June 1 1787 — TR

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND RESIDENCE IN ROME

JUNE 1787-JUNE 1788

GOETHE tells us that what had above all rendered him obstinate in resisting the allurement of Naples was the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in Rome, and in that the splendid tapestries after Raphael's cartoons, which it was customary to hang in the Vatican. On Wednesday, the 6th of June 1787, the day preceding that on which the feast was celebrated, he reached Rome, having spent four days on the way. Now having purified and strengthened his spirit in the radiance of Naples and Sicily, he could command a greater calm to develop his knowledge of art and his "small talents" for plastic art. Hackert and Tischbein were still in Rome. Tischbein's picture of Goethe was progressing well. Goethe spent a few days of the earlier half of June in Tivoli with Hackert, who gave him lessons in landscape-painting.

On June 20, 1787, Goethe writes — "Now I have been again looking at excellent works of art here, and my spirit clarifies and settles. Yet I should need at least a year more alone in Rome in order to profit by the stay after my own fashion." After this he spent three glorious days at Albano,

Castel Gandolfo and Frascati where there is an ever joyous pure atmosphere 'There is a Nature to study!' On June 27 he tells how he has been with Hackert in the Colonna Gallery where hang works of Poussin Claude, and Salvator Rosa. Hackert was copying some of these and studying others very thoroughly, his remarks did not change Goethe's conceptions only widened and determined them If one now could look on Nature and again find and read what they [the great painters] have found, and more or less imitated it could not but enlarge and purify the spirit, and give the highest perceptive notion of Nature and Art. And I will not rest until nothing is any longer Word and Tradition but living Notion '¹

The Feast of St Peter and St Paul fell on the last days of June 1787, Goethe was filled with admiration by the vast illumination of the Dome of St Peter's together with the fireworks from the Castle of St Angelo Immediately after the Feast Hackert went to Albano With Hackert Tischbein meant to go to Naples to remain some time there Goethe therefore rented for the summer Tischbein's great room in which was the almost finished portrait. Henceforward those who exercised the most powerful influence over him were Heinrich Meyer and Angelika Kauffmann Every Sunday Goethe visited a picture gallery with Angelika and dined at her house Each confided to the other his and her whole position and mood Angelika was not happy as her husband notwithstanding their good means, wished her to go on painting for sale while she desired purely to follow her artist bent She was mild towards Goethe's breaches of etiquette he had a General Pardon

¹ *Die Ital anische Reise* June 27 1787 —TR

² Goethe to Angelika February 1788 Duntzer's edition of *Die Ital anische Reise* Hempel's Goethe xxiv S 934 5 —TR

Moritz, Bury, and Schutz remained close companions. Moritz's knowledge of history and antiquities was very useful to Goethe. Since "all artists old and young helped him to polish up and to enlarge his little talent,"¹ he made rapid progress in drawing. And in spite of the heat the comic opera was visited with eager interest. Cimarosa's new intermezzo *L'impresario in angustie* is noted under the 31st July as "thoroughly excellent and likely to give us pleasure many nights." One evening, in order to give pleasure to Angelini, who had an unconquerable dislike to visiting the theatre, Goethe improvised in his large chamber a grand concert by the members of the comic opera. This concert drew general attention on "the quiet lodgings opposite the Rondinini Palace."² At the house of the lover of art, Count John von Friess, a Viennese advanced in years, who had shown himself extremely friendly to Goethe, our poet met in July the Austrian Court poet, Abate Giambattista Casti. Casti, born at Prato in 1721, was the author of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, a favourite opera with Goethe. Casti recited a tale, *Der Erzbischof von Prag*, as yet unprinted, not very respectable, but composed in beautiful *ottava rima*. The recitation was excellent, light and charming and intellectual.³ In the evening, Goethe attended the course of lessons in perspective, which young Verschaffelt from Mannheim gave to a numerous assembly.⁴ Notwithstanding the great heat which made it necessary to stay within doors during the greater part of every day, Goethe worked hard during July and August at *Egmont*, not a little stimulated to think that just then in Brussels were being enacted scenes the counterpart of those of Egmont's time.⁵ He wrote the play, as he says himself, with

¹ Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt, July 27, 1787 —TR

² Ibid., the Bericht for July 1787 —TR ³ Ibid., July 17, 1787

⁴ Ibid., Bericht for August 1787 ⁵ Ibid., July 9, 1787 —TR

great freedom of spirit and conscientiousness¹ in the certain prospect that the stage would immediately adopt it

Meanwhile Goethe had become convinced that in the short allotted time he could not perfect the artistic training which he had hoped from Rome. Accordingly on the 11th of August having shortly before received a friendly letter from the Duke which put him at ease as to his future position Goethe wrote begging permission to stay in Italy until the Easter of 1788. 'My spirit is capable of advancing far in the knowledge of art and on all sides I am exhorted to cultivate my small talent for drawing and thus these months would suffice to make my insight and my dexterity (*Fertigkeit*) perfect. Now I am studying architecture and perspective the composition and colouring of landscape I should like to devote September and October to drawing in the open air November and December to perfecting this at home making it ready and finishing it, the early months of the coming year to the human figure face etc. By Easter I shall have brought it so far as to be able thenceforward to go on by myself—for there are certain things which must be learned and adopted from others

Yet another epoch I have in mind to close at Easter my first, or rather my second literary epoch. *Egmont* is done and I hope with the New Year to have completed *Tasso* with Easter *Faust* an achievement only possible in this seclusion

This working up of my older pieces is a wonderful benefit to me It is a recapitulation of my life and of my art and while I am compelled to go back and mould myself and my present mode of thinking my modern manner after my former one to develop anew what I had only sketched, I learn to know myself aright and my limitations and amplitudes.

If it is permitted here to add as a conclusion a wish which

¹ *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* the entry immediately above the date Nov 24 1787 —TR

I have for that time [after his return to Weimar], it would be this —To traverse your collective dominions immediately after my return, as a stranger, that I may criticise your provinces with altogether fresh eyes and as one habituated to gazing on land and the world I should, as is my fashion, make a new image and gain a complete notion, and qualify myself anew, as it were, for every kind of service to which your goodness and confidence destine me If Heaven second my wishes, I will thenceforth for some time devote myself exclusively to administration as now to the arts I have been long groping and experimenting, it is time to lay hold and to act efficiently' The Duke was forced to smile when, in reading this letter, he came on the sudden flash of longing to re-enter the Government again Goethe might without further ceremony take permission as accorded

The interest above mentioned in the comic opera had not remained without result. On August 14, 1787, Goethe communicates to Kayser the plan of a new comic opera, the material he found in the famous incident of the Diamond Necklace, which, says Goethe, seems to have actually occurred for the purpose of being made into an *opera buffa* Kayser shall see by the mechanism of this opera that Goethe has learned something in Italy, and that he now understands better how to subordinate the poetry to the music In an earlier part of the letter Goethe speaks of sending *Egmont* in manuscript to Kayser "Would you then compose, say, the symphony, the *ent'actes*, the songs, and some passages of the fifth act which require music, thus your setting could appear with this addition, the public would grow used to seeing your name side by side with mine, and it would perhaps pave the way for our opera" One may note how intent Goethe was on helping his friend

Nor were his botanical theories forgotten at this period

He was deeply interested by a gilliflower out of the primary blossom of which four other blossoms had grown He made an exact sketch of the flower seeing in it a triumph for his theory and in doing this he gained more and more insight into the fundamental idea of metamorphosis¹ On the 17th of May 1787 Goethe had written from Naples to Herder — ‘Further I must confide to you that I am very near the mystery of plant generation and organisation, and that it is the simplest thing imaginable

On the 23d of August 1787 Goethe writes —‘ Now at last the Alpha and Omega of all that we know the human form has seized me and I have seized it and I say ‘I will not let thee go except thou bless me even though I become lame in the strife The sketching will not suffice here and accordingly I have made up my mind to modelling and that seems to get on Goethe’s intimacy with the sculptor Trippel was now of importance in this connection Trippel was commissioned by the Prince of Waldeck to produce a marble bust of Goethe (a picture of which we give as frontispiece to vol. 1) and during the preliminary modelling Goethe enjoyed the most instructive intercourse Goethe believed now that he had discovered the principle of the ancient sculptors,² he sketched a little alabaster head in order to test this and people could not believe that the sketch was his³ The perfect works of art of which there are too few, now began to seem to him ‘ the highest of Nature’s works produced by human beings

¹ *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* July 1787 *Storende Naturbetrachtungen* also Goethe to Knebel August 18 1787 October 5 1787 —TR

Compare I am now thoroughly engaged in the study of the human form which is the *no plus ultra* of all human knowing and doing *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* January 10 1788 —TR

² *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* September 6 1787 —TR.

³ *Ibid* September 15 1787 —TR.

according to true and natural laws, all that is arbitrary, all that is the creation of fancy, perishes, here is Necessity, here is God "¹

On September 5, 1787, *Egmont* was at length perfected. On the 14th of September Goethe writes — " *Eugen und Elmire* is already half rewritten, I have tried to give the piece more interest and life, and have thrown out altogether the very flat dialogue" On October 4 Goethe received—beside the continuation of that "most precious Evangel,"² Herder's *Idee* —the first four volumes of his own *Works*. Neither the paper nor the type pleased him, and there were many printer's errors and omissions.³

A very joyous letter is that which Goethe wrote to Käyser (September 11, 1787) on receiving word that the composer meant to come to Rome soon in order to bring out his opera in person "Drive straight to my quarters when you arrive, I will put you up for a while . You are giving me a great pleasure, and you shall grow healthy and merry in this country, as I have grown You shall in no foreign land find yourself so at home as here in Rome living with me" A few months later Goethe gives a right cheery account of the domestic establishment of which we have heard him thus invite Käyser to become one "Our old woman cooks, our old man crawls about, the hindering maid-servant does far more gabbling than work, a man-servant, who is an ex-Jesuit, mends our clothes and waits table, and the kitten brings in many larks' heads which are often eaten"⁴ At this time, too, the son of the landlord

¹ *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt*, September 6 —TR

² *Ibid*, Goethe to Herder, Castel Gandolfo, October 12, 1787 —TR

³ Goethe to Goschen enclosed in a letter to Seidel of date October 28, 1787, then forwarded by Seidel See on this matter letters of Goschen and Bertuch lately published in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, Band II —TR

⁴ Goethe to Fritz Stein, February 16, 1788 —TR

lived in the house Bury and Schutz remained good comrades, for whom Goethe faithfully cared, indeed he writes to the Duke, January 25 1788—‘My existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmsade*’ he was like Wilhelm Meister burthened with the fortunes of strangers

On September 25 1787, Goethe and a few artists went to Reiffenstein’s villa at Frascati where all day and on into the night went on painting drawing in Indian ink, glueing trade and art in fact *ex professo*¹. In the evenings they would go to see the villas in the moonlight and note the most striking motives. As the Duchess Amalia meant to come to Italy next year Goethe talked with Reiffenstein of the arrangements necessary. The Duchess had proposed at first to come in the present year from this Goethe had dissuaded her. He alleged valid reasons for delay, but he had besides a personal motive. The presence of a circle of friends would have narrowed Rome to him, and done away with the peculiar benefit of a life among strangers and strange surroundings².

On October 7, 1787, Goethe betook himself to the *Ville giatura* at Castel Gandolfo where he stayed at the hospitable thronged house of the Englishman Jenkins, a dealer in art objects. Goethe found that Angelika also was at Castel Gandolfo. Her beneficial influence remained ever the same. As to his landscape painting what Angelika said was so flattering that he might not repeat it. He had given up his thought of going to Naples to study under Hackert especially as Angelika did him so much good in every way³. A Milan maiden came with two Roman ladies—a mother and daughter

¹ *Zw iter Romischer Aufenthalt* Frascati September 28 1787 —TR

² *Ibid* October 5 1787 also the *Bericht* for October 1787 final page or two and Goethe to Karl August November 17 1787 —TR

³ See Duntzer’s edition of *Die Italische Reise* pp 864 5

well known to Goethe—to spend a week at the gay and bustling spot. Goethe was attracted by the naturalness, the simple and unpretending ways, of the Milan girl, as opposed to the dignified bearing of the Roman ladies, demanding homage. So he drew very near her, gave her lessons in English, but the love thus budding was suddenly checked by the intelligence that she was already betrothed. He felt a good deal of pain, yet soon mastered it. Though he liked making the acquaintance of so many people in such an easy way at Castel Gandolfo, the life of disquiet there soon palled. On October 21, 1787, he came back to Rome. Here he reviewed the sketches he had been making in the country, and began a completely new development of *Claudine*. He writes on October 27—"I have again entered this magic circle [Rome], and immediately I feel as though again bewitched—content, silently working away, forgetting all that is external to me, and the forms of friends come in peaceful and friendly visitings."

An altogether new life begins with Kayser's arrival in Rome, at the close of October 1787. A piano was procured immediately, trying and tuning, and placing this piano, and arranging about Kayser's lodging, took some time, and Goethe had himself to prepare for change. Tischbein having announced his return to be close at hand, either at the time of Kayser's settlement or soon after it, Goethe engaged the second story again. Kayser's interpretation of his own opera delighted Goethe, moreover, he was glad to observe the thoroughness and earnestness of the young composer, his kindly and natural ways in intercourse. Writing on November 17, 1787, Goethe tells the Duke—"Through him [Kayser] I for the first time enjoy the Italian music, because of course nothing in the world is enjoyed aright without genuine inward knowledge."

In the same letter Goethe mentions how a few days before he has sent to Weimar, to the Duchess Amilia an Italian who would be a kind of Maitre Jacques to the Duchess would look after the mechanism of her journey to Italy and would be a source of information always at hand This Italian was the son of Goethe's landlord Further on in the same letter, Goethe speaks of politics, in which he feels lively interest. To me it seems a grave matter for friend and foe that France is so far from her old power If on the one hand the plans of the Prussian English Orange Alliance are more easily carried out, on the other Catherine and Joseph have an unfettered game and can mayhap in a moment establish an enormous preponderance southwards and eastwards, while the States of the north and west, and here I include France, are at variance with each other Writing from these regions I can say that in silence and among individuals Russia and the Kaiser are feated and it is believed that the Kaiser can under no conditions favour those vast expectations and designs of Catherine on Constantinople unless the possession of Italy be guaranteed to some descendant of his house. This is certain that the States of the Church and the two Sicilies could like Holland be seized without drawing a sword Let a couple of ships of the line be stationed in the Gulf of Naples and two of the gates of Rome be beaten in and the thing is done. From various symptoms I believe that the Papal and Neapolitan Courts are on the scent of some such design though the general public dreams nothing of it The people are discontented especially the ecclesiastics the monks are inclined to the Kaiser Only yesterday said an old monk of seventy 'If I could but see it in my old days the Kaiser coming and hunting us all from our convents even religion would be a gainer'

Yet what at this time is most noteworthy is the extraordinary fascination which the human form exercised over Goethe. Writing a little later (January 25, 1788) to the Duke, he describes how first he drew the head and its parts, and thus began for the first time to understand the antiques. So passed November and December 1787, and in January 1788 he passed to the human body. His old studies of osteology and anatomy were very useful, and in the third week of January he finished with the human hand.

To the Sunday regularly spent with Angelika was now added one evening every week, on which he saw her. She remained always the same true friend to whom he could completely unbosom himself, she almost filled the place of Charlotte. In the beginning of December 1787 Herder's translation of the Skaldic *Zaubergespräch Angantyr's und Herwors* was prepared for representation by Kayser. Drawing continued to be diligently practised. In the evenings he studied perspective. In the second week of December, feeling rather wearied and unable to do any work, Goethe went on a short walking tour in the loveliest weather, through the volcanic range that extends from Frascati to Nemi. At this time the younger Camper¹ was in Rome, he promulgated his father's views on the culture of man and the Greek ideal in art. Goethe writes on January 10, 1788 — "The younger Camper is a *Strudelkopf*, who knows much, apprehends easily, and skims over things."

On December 21, 1787, Goethe replies to Herder — "My drawing, and art study is an aid to the poetic faculty, not a hindrance, for one should and must write only a little, draw a great deal. I would that I could only communicate

¹ Gilles Adrian Camper, son of Peter Camper, the great Dutch anatomist. See Duntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, p. 900, footnote (*Strudelkopf* = a hot-headed, hasty fellow). — TR

to you the notion of plastic art which I have now, subordinated as it is it is delightful because it is true and ever points onwards.' On December 5 1787, he writes — "The splendour of the great works of art does me no more¹ I walk now in light (*Anschauen*) in genuine discriminating knowledge. How much in this matter I owe to a silent solitary diligent Swiss named Meyer I cannot say. He first it was who opened my eyes as to detail as to the properties of individual forms who initiated me into the actual *Wirkung* (Meyer had been one of the party in which Goethe went to see the statues of the Capitol and the Vatican by torchlight. Goethe has inserted in the *Letter A writer A guest at a paper of Meyer's* in which it is pointed out how many statues are only by this means to be seen in the proper illumination.) Farther on in the letter of December 15 Goethe says — 'Meyer has a heavenly clearness of conception and in infinite goodness of heart. In his companionship in the course of time I hope to come to a degree of excellence in drawing which I myself dare hardly think of' But Bury too had helped him not a little. The letter which we have been quoting says farther on — 'Yes I must say, I have had a great deal of spoiling in matters of morality this year. Altogether cut off from society I have for a time stood alone. Now a narrow circle of friends has again formed around me all of them good, all *on the right path* and this is now the token that they can endure to be with me, they like me, find happiness in my presence the more they both in thought and action, are on the right path. For I have no mercy for, no patience with, any who dawdle or stray on their path and yet desire to pass for messengers or travellers. Two men

¹ See p. 13 — Tr.

² See on this party Duntzer in his edition of *Die Italienische Parte* pp 889 890 — Tr.

there are who thank me for the change wrought in mind and life—ay, three [Moritz, Bury, and Kniep]¹—and will continue to thank me until they die ”

Goethe's only source of disquiet at this time (the close of December 1787) was in the objections raised by his Weimar friends to many things in *Egmont*. He was consoled to find that Angelika had a much tenderer and finer feeling than Charlotte and Herder for that which he had desired to bring out in his portrayal of the hero. About the 8th of December 1787, Goethe had written to Seidel —“The high opinion of my brain, which they profess in Weimar, I hope to combat as Sophocles refuted a like complaint. he wrote his *Oedipus at Colonus*, and—though I will not exactly compare my *Egmont* with that masterpiece—the play will be enough to convince the public that I am still in my senses ”

Having finished his study of the human head, he began in January 1788, as before mentioned, to draw the other parts of the human form, on January 24 he finished by drawing the hand. Probably to this month falls the beginning of a connection which he formed with a beauty who was perhaps in the first instance his model. In this he but conformed to the pretty general custom of artists living in Rome. When Herder was in Rome, Goethe said playfully to Herder's wife that her husband would not be happy there until he fell in love². Had not Goethe himself enjoyed there the most splendid life, while this happiness in love lasted³? The

¹ Compare *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788 (the close), and Duntzer's note —TR

² Compare—

“Eine Welt zwar bist Du, o Rom ! doch ohne die Liebe
Ware die Welt nicht die Welt, ware denn Rom auch nicht Rom ”

Romische Elegien, I —TR

³ *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788 —TR

poetry of the Roman triumvirs of love¹ Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, and of Horace and Ovid had probably long ere this been read by Goethe who would seek by them to make old Rome live to him again. In the *Romische Elegien* this Roman love of Goethe's is a sort of glorified background. We know nothing of the personality of his mistress—she is said to have been of no exceptional beauty²—she must however have had no small power of captivating, as she afterwards became the wife of a wealthy English settler in Rome, and ruled him skilfully.

In the very beginning of this blossoming of sensual love came a letter from the Duke (by courier on January 24) which expressed the desire that Goethe would await the arrival of the Duchess Amalia and be her guide in the land now so familiar to him. The Duchess's visit to Italy had ere this been fixed to take place in the summer of 1788. Goethe was much disquieted by this proposal and the more because he could not openly object to it. He replied at length the next day January 25 1788. If he is to stay later than Easter, when he will have attained all that is at present his object in Rome he will subordinate the rest of his existence to the duty of serving the Duchess. 'It will at first seem strange and yet as concerns the future will be salutary to be compelled again to live among all kinds of men.' Earlier in the letter he writes—'Hitherto I have

¹ The last lines of No V of the *Romische Elegien* are—

Amor schuret die Lamp'ndess und denket der Leuten

Da er den n'mlichen Dienst setzen Triumvirs gethan

Joseph Scaliger called Catullus Tibullus and Propertius *triumviri amoris*. See also *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* the account of the Arcadian Academy—TR.

² By Wilhelm von Humboldt. For a brief abstract of what is known of this matter see Goethe's *lyrische Gedichte Erläutert v. Heinrich Duntzer* in 46—TR.

resisted all who would fain draw me into society, because my first care was for the main interests of my own being, because society does not give but takes, and because I daily feel greater dislike to doing things by halves But now I will equip myself, hire a servant, get better quarters, in fine, make such personal arrangements that I can publicly appear as your minister, and nothing lacking the fitting dignity First I will visit Cardinal Herzan and the Senator [of Rome], then go to the Cardinal Secretary of State [Buoncompagni] and Cardinal Bernis With this¹ the sluices are lifted and the rest follows of itself I will devote the month of April [1788] altogether to this expansion (*Ausbreitung*), for I must inure myself again to it, and treat the life of intercourse with many men, no less than the retired life, as a study and an exercise . As to my outlay, let the following serve for an account I have been all along drawing the sum for which I have to thank your kindness and thoughtfulness, and, after deduction of what my living from day to day costs, have spent it on travel, in which also I have used up 1000 thalers that the first four volumes of my works brought in Living as I have done, I should have come off at a cheaper rate, but that my existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmaide* My Easter quarter and the produce of the fifth volume had been meant to pay for my return journey, and I should have resumed my old house-keeping at Weimar without the smallest hitch" He goes on to say that he will continue to pay away his salary and the money brought by his works, and will only ask the Duchess Amalia for what is needed above this, "that I may remain unembarrassed (*rein*) and without anxiety" Farther on he says —"I repeat it again, should you find me necessary on your return to Weimar, I am ready to come at any hint Very many things make going home attractive to me. Living

¹ Reading *Somit* not *So weit* —TR

apart from intercourse with you apart from intercourse with tried friends is a matter to consider In a foreign land the heart, I perceive fast grows cold and hard because there is so seldom any loving and trusting I have gained so much in knowledge of art and of nature that a further study would be much lightened by the neighbourhood of our Academy Jena.

' Next week, writes Goethe in the letter from which we have been quoting "the chief statues and paintings of Rome shall be viewed with eyes washed clear In the *Korresponden* for February 1788, we find him besides pushing on with *Claudine* and considering the contents of the three final volumes of his works On the 5th of February the Carnival of 1788 terminated The displeased feeling which the festival aroused in Goethe in 1787 was now replaced by the interest of the student and artist He noted the several incidents and asked Georg Schutz to make coloured sketches of the masks He hoped to publish a description of the Carnival with illustrations¹ On one of the days of tumult Goethe saw Angelika's carriage on the Corso and went up to it to greet his friend. He was surprised to find her accompanied by the sweet young Milan maiden of Castel Gandolfo memory Since we last saw her she has had trouble—her betrothed has proved faithless and she has been very ill in consequence Goethe had shown a tender interest in her welfare during her illness and she now thanked him for it He went away full

¹ *Das Romische Karneval* with illustrations appeared in 1789 Goethe printed it without the illustrations and the passages having reference to them in the 179 edition of his works In 1829 Goethe when preparing his *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* placed the essay on the Carnival after the *Bericht* for January 1788 and before the *Korresponden* for February See Duntzer's edition of *Die Italinishe Reise* pp 475 and 924 and Strehlke's Introduction to *Das Romische Karneval* Hempele's *Goethe* xvi 291 6 —TR

of silent content, and of gratitude to Angelika for her delicate and generous goodness to the maiden On February 9, 1788, he sent off the last act of *Claudine*, and thus was done with the fifth volume of his works He now let the three others alone for a while At this time he wrote to Angelika —“It seems as if in the *Studio de' Tedeschi incontro al Rondanum* we are going from one extreme to the other Last week we drew men as God made them, and this week we want to clothe them from head to foot in steel and iron” Moreover, when writing to the Duke on January 25, he had announced his intention of beginning some sketches of landscape, and of drawing and colouring some perspective views (*veduti*) On February 16 he writes to Fritz Stein —“You wrote lately about the grave of a Miss Gore in Rome One evening a few days ago, when I had gloomy thoughts, I sketched mine at the Pyramid of Cestius”¹ On March 1 he writes that he has been indulging in all sorts of speculation as to colours, and we learn elsewhere² that Angelika gave valuable aid Thus, as he asserted blue to be no colour, she painted a little landscape without any blue

During the later part of February 1788 the plans of *Faust* and *Tasso* were thought over and perfected Nay, in the noble environment of the Borghese Garden, a new scene of *Faust* was written—the madly humorous *Hexenküche* scene As his return to Germany was in prospect—Herder and Charlotte were urging earnestly for it—he went once more over all in Rome that was of most significance, and saw much that was new to him besides He made several acquaintances of distinction One was the Senator of Rome, who, having come back from Germany lately, had called to see Goethe In the

¹ August Goethe was buried near the Pyramid of Cestius in 1830 —TR

² In the *Confession des Verfassers*, appended to Goethe's *Geschichte der Farbenlehre* —TR

second week of March 1788 after careful study of the bones and muscles Goethe modelled a foot with success On most Sundays the music of the Sixtine Chapel was enjoyed

On March 15 1788 in the midst of the stir of Passion Week in Rome, Goethe received a letter from the Duke which relieved him of the duty of awaiting the Duchess Amalia and conducting her Italian journey The Duke had perceived how unwelcome the office of *Reisemarschall* was to his friend Goethe writes March 17, 1788 — To your cordial, friendly letter I at once cheerily reply I come¹ After speaking of the plan of his return journey he goes on — 'Since with these objects in view I cannot be in Weimar before the middle of June I would add one request—that you will grant me while present the leave from duty which you have already granted me had I decided to stay away My desire—with this strange unsubduable spirit of mine that even in perfect freedom and in the moment of enjoying the earnestly desired good fortune has brought me many a grief—my desire is at your side among your subjects in your land¹ to *find myself again* to cast up the account of my travel and to clasp in the last three volumes of my *Works* the mass of many memories of life and meditations on art I can say to be sure In this eighteen months solitude I *have* found myself but in what sense? As an artist¹ All that I am over and above the artist you will criticise and be of use to By your continuous (*fortdauerndes*) active life you as I can see by every one of your letters have been always widening and rendering finer the prince's knowledge of the uses that can be made of men I submit myself gladly to this judgment Receive me as a guest, let me by your side fill out the whole measure of my existence and enjoy life and thus my force will be like a new opened concentrated purified

¹ Mich an ihrer Seite mit den Ihrigen in dem Ihrigen, wieder zufinden —TR

water-spring, easy to guide from its source here or there as you desire" The Duke wished that Goethe, in order to remain in steady connection with the Chamber of Finance, should be authorised to attend its meetings from time to time as his business permitted, and that he should then occupy the chair placed at such meetings for the Duke As to this Goethe writes further on in the same letter —"The relation in which you wish me to stand towards the Chamber of Finance is, I repeat, so honourable, that in accepting it I shall feel shame at my own unworthiness, as in refusing it I should feel myself arrogant"

Karl August found fault with some things in *Egmont* Goethe writes, March 28, 1788 —"Remarks such as those in your last letter are indeed not very consoling for the author, for the man, however, they are very weighty, and he who has not divided these two lives in himself knows how to treasure and use such memories" At the close of this letter he mentions that *Lila* and *Jery und Bately* are ready The little poems had been written down afresh in a collection, and so all that remained to be done during the coming winter was *Faust*, as he hoped to complete *Tasso* during the summer of 1788¹ Although he feels a very special longing to be at work on *Faust*, he cannot repress the sigh, "May I but succeed in performing half what I wish and hope" On April 11, 1788, Karl August appointed *Geheimerath* Schmidt to be President of the Chamber of Finance, summoned Voigt to be a member of the Chamber, and formally proclaimed that Goethe should take in the Chamber the position of honour already spoken of

The last days in Rome, like all last days, were very sad²

¹ On February 16 Goethe writes to the Duke that "the hill *Tasso* and the mountain *Faust*" are nearly all that he has not done with —TR

² Goethe, after his return to Weimar, told Herder's wife that during the last fortnight in Rome he had cried like a child —TR

He writes on April 10 1788 — ‘I am still in Rome—in the body, not in the spirit. Once I had made up my mind to departure I felt no more interest and I should have been glad to get away a fortnight ago In truth, I only remain for the sake of Kayser and of Bury The former has still some studies to finish, which he can make only in Rome has still some *musicalia* to collect the other has to perfect a sketch for a painting of my designing and in this needed my counsel On April 11 he writes again — ‘The days pass, and I can do nothing more I can indeed scarcely bear to go look at anything My trusty Meyer stands to me still and I enjoy to the last his instructive society Modelling and botanical speculation occupied him until the end In the garden of Angelika’s house he sowed a pine seedling of his own rearing, it grew and flourished many years and travellers told Goethe of it until, after Angelika’s death, the new possessors of the house destroyed it. Some little date palms likewise raised by Goethe from seeds, were more fortunate They were planted by a Roman friend in the garden of the Villa Malta on the Pincian Hill a garden bordering on Angelika’s frequently visited by Goethe probably indeed already selected as the residence of the Duchess Amalia King Ludwig of Bavaria saw these palms when they had grown to a man’s height One of them is still living¹

Very bitter was parting from one who had grown into his life as Angelika Bury, too, he left behind with great pain Moritz, who owed a great deal to Goethe, was to visit him in Weimar when returning to Berlin In his visits of farewell the young Milan maiden was not forgotten He had been hearing of her growth in intimacy with Angelika, and other good things, and indeed she occupied no unimportant place in his thoughts The parting was very affectionate We do

¹ See Duntzer’s edition of *Die Italienerische Reise* pp 953 4 —TR

not know whether the connection with the Roman mistress was dissolved now or earlier in the spring

When, on the last night in Rome, he passed with a few friends under the full moon through the massive lights and deep shadows to visit Capitol and Colosseum for the last time, he felt strange, deep emotion. Again, as so often before, the northern barbarian owed a measureless debt to the Eternal City. Yet Goethe did not then think that he was to see Rome no more. On April 22, 1788, in the most sorrowful agitation, he set out northwards with Kayser by his side.

The poetic companion of his journey was *Tasso*. In the public gardens of Florence he wrote passages which afterwards would recall that peculiar agitation. Florence was thoroughly explored on this visit. On May 6, 1788, Goethe tells the Duke that almost all the art treasures of the city have been visited. From Milan, on May 23, he writes — “The parting from Rome has cost me more than is right and fitting for my years, however, I have not been able to master my spirit, and on the journey have left myself complete freedom, and accordingly I have, every hour, at least seven changes of mood.” Earlier in the letter he writes — “Yesterday I was at the cathedral, to erect which a whole mountain of marble has been forced into the most tasteless forms. The poor stones are still daily tortured, for the madness is yet far from its period—poverty of thought, indeed, rather than madness.” The passion for mineralogy awoke again. On May 24 Goethe tells Knebel that he is going to buy a hammer and break pieces from the rock on his homeward journey, in order to drive away “the bitterness of death” [the pain of moving farther and farther from Rome]. At Constanz, in the beginning of June, he was dreadfully disappointed to read in Schubart’s *Vaterlandschronik* that Herder had gone to Italy with Canon Dalberg. Immediately after this announcement, our

poet read the following discerning praise — ' Goethe also one of the most brilliant stars in Germany's crown has made a vast impression in Italy. He entered the best circles adorned with German force and the dignity of German genius and everywhere his great knowledge, his deep perception of the beautiful, and his noble bearing were admired. It was not true that Herder had gone to Italy.

Ere leaving Rome Goethe had given up the thought of visiting his mother and his brother in law Schlosser on his return his longing for Weimar was intense. By Augsburg Nurnberg Gotha and Erfurt he travelled and at length at ten o'clock June 18 1788 as he had bidden farewell to Rome beneath a full moon beneath a full moon entered the little capital on the Ilm that was now grown so dear.

[NOTE.—Goethe's Last Night in Rome — Near the close of Goethe's *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* he writes — Three nights before my departure the full moon shone in the clearest of skies and then goes on to speak of the magic charm of the great city and its influence on their minds. Then in a new paragraph he begins — After days spent distractedly some painfully I made the round of the city with a few friends once through a perfect solitude. Herr Prof Duntzer believes that this was on the last night though not so stated with exactness I think that most who examine the passage must agree with him — TR.]



BOOK VI

HOUSE AND HOME

1788—1794

CHAPTER I

FROM GOETHE'S RETURN FROM ITALY TO THE BIRTH OF HIS
SON *THE ROMISCHE ELEGIAE—TASSO*

JUNE 1788—DECEMBER 1789

AFTER an absence of nearly two years (September 1786—June 1788) Goethe returned to Charlotte von Stein with the old true love of firm purpose to live a life of close union of heart and soul with her and her Fritz. We have seen how throughout his sojourn in Italy he had frequently had the boy in his thoughts. Yet intellectually and spiritually he was a new man. He was now an Artist, penetrated with the sensuous apprehension of life, fresh clear objective in treatment he had attained a new stand point a higher insight. And Charlotte had not advanced and the only change was that she had grown older looking in the interval. In Goethe's eyes she sought in vain the old passionate yearning she was disconcerted and dismayed by their new, strong, beaming gaze. She felt that he needed consolation and advice from her no longer and it wounded her that even by her side he could not suppress the longing for the south that in rude gloomy Thuringen in the petty capital of a German Duchy he missed Italy and Rome. She grew cold and reserved she nourished bitterness she reproached him for want of sym-

pathy — whom her frigidity was repelling¹ She jealously observed his demeanour and his actions, to find by them her suspicions of his falseness justified She was physically ailing, and she brooded on gloomy dreams Add to all this that Goethe, in the first days at Weimar, drawn hither and thither by the most diverse claims, especially on the part of the Court, could give her but little of his time ; while the cordiality of his friends made Charlotte's coldness the more striking Twelve days after Goethe's return, she writes to her sister-in-law (who had gone on June 24 to Karlsbad), that she (Charlotte) had been with the Duchess, Herder, and Herder's wife, at Goethe's house, where they had been shown engravings from Claude Lorraine, and gems — “We had not been long with him when Knebel too came in, and thus our old group was again assembled , hardly, I believe, with the old spirit ”

Goethe was now free from the thraldom of business, he did not even attend the Council In the Commission of Mines alone he took a lively interest. It was, unfortunately, just then necessary to put up an hydraulic engine in order to drain the mine of water that had broken out in the previous year To the Duke Goethe was the old bosom-friend, with whom to take continual counsel, to whom to entrust many commissions which implied special confidence Thus on Goethe was laid the task of reform in the University of Jena, and he soon after engaged in it, aided by C G Voigt, who had proved himself an invaluable man of business

On the 6th of July 1788 the English family Gore, who already in 1787 had visited the Court of Weimar, came for the second time Charles Gore had succeeded his father in a large mercantile house, and now, having retired from business, went travelling with his daughters¹ He and his daughters

¹ Goethe has prefixed to the Life of Philipp Hackert a notice of the life of Charles Gore , see Hempel's *Goethe*, VIII. 20 25 — TR

Elise and Emilie were remarkable for fine culture and a feeling for art. But Goethe now found their views in Ethics and on Art so limited that in a certain sense he found talking with them impossible¹. The Duke felt a passionate attraction to Emilie, Elise had a warm heart for Goethe. Mein while Charlotte's coldness and rancour were making Goethe extremely unhappy. The more she held aloof the more irresistibly did he feel how wide a gulf was fixed between them through the difference in age and the change in his views. He felt himself bound to her by gratitude and by his promise to live in union with her and her Fritz, but her trust, through which alone the relation was possible had given place to its opposite. It was a dreadful overthrow of hope.

At this juncture it happened that the poet, driven to despair by Charlotte's coldness met and fell in love with a maiden of humble rank. Christiane Sophie Vulpius then just turned two and twenty, was the daughter of the *Amtsarzt* in Johann Friedrich Vulpius dead since March 1786. Some years before his death Vulpius had had to give up his post. The girl was a winsome little blonde with beautiful blue eyes, a pretty nose pouting lips a round full face and long fair hair. The story runs that she met Goethe in the Park and handed him a petition from her brother. This brother Christian August Vulpius two years older than Christiane after studying law history and diplomacy at Jena had begun trying to support himself and two sisters by authorship. He had printed some tales, beside poems. When Goethe who gave him some aid, was away in Italy Vulpius had been compelled to accept the post of secretary to the Circle Ambassador von Soden in Nurnberg a man who had also made his appearance as a poet. As von Soden ostensibly because he could get a more suitable secretary, dismissed Vulpius the young fellow sought

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein August 1 1788 —Tr

help from his former patron, of whose return from Italy he heard. It is said that Goethe, at an earlier time, had seen Christiane in Bertuch's flower-manufactory, where she was remarkable among the other women and girls employed by her youthful freshness, but drew Goethe's attention especially by

her smart reply to his companion, the Darmstadt prince, who asked her what flowers bloomed under her hand. Goethe probably established Christiane in his *Gartenhaus*. All we know is that on Sunday, July 13, 1788, not four weeks from the day of his return, he concluded his marriage of conscience with her.¹

Goethe was completely captivated by her personal charms,

her amiability, her Thuringian *naivete*, and by her evident happiness in having won the love of the great man whom she

¹ We know this from the last words of Goethe's letter to Schiller, July 13, 1796 — “Heute erlebe ich auch eine eigne Epoche mein Eh'stand ist eben 8 Jahre und die französische Revolution 7 Jahre alt.” This passage Goethe omitted when preparing his correspondence with Schiller for publication in 1824. See p. 144 — Tr.

² Prof Duntzei cannot tell the exact date of this drawing. It belongs to Christiane's later years, and gives no notion of the young girl who met Goethe in the Park — Tr.



FIG. 2 Christiane Vulpius. From a photograph
of an Indian ink drawing.²

had looked on as so far above her. Probably the memory of his Roman amour also played through his joyous intoxication. Yet anticipation of the storm which the discovery at length, of his secret would call forth and the thought of that promise to Charlotte now broken by his marriage were certainly sources of great disquietude, while the endeavour to betray his fortune in no wise by his personal being was a dissimulation very opposite to his nature. He had written a friendly letter to Christiane's brother promising to use influence on his behalf. This promise was fulfilled only Goethe kept Vulpius from coming to Weimar.¹

Externally the relation to Charlotte still subsisted in so far that Goethe occasionally visited her and they paid each other little attentions but Fritz Stein though with Goethe a good deal was no longer an inmate of his house. On July 20 1788 Charlotte when sending something begs for a visit. Goethe replies that he will try to get away from Court betimes in the afternoon, and will besides call for a moment in the morning early. 'Gladly will I hear all you have to say to me only I must beg you not to judge too rigidly my distracted—I will not say shattered being. You will understand when I say that my inner self is not as my external semblance. Before she left for Kochberg on July Charlotte sent Goethe a breakfast and commended Fritz to his care. 'Fritz shall be dear to me' Goethe replies. I am always glad of his presence and to be any use to him

May you be happy and very strong in quiet Kochberg He says not a word which implies desire to visit Charlotte in Kochberg he only lays stress on the dreariness of life in

¹ See on Vulpius Goethe's letters to Jacobi September 9 October 3 and October 31 1788—TR

Dir lasst ich woll sitzen lass mein Inneres ist nicht wie mein Äusseres —TR

Weimar "I will live on as I can, though it is indeed a special exercise. Kayser is going away again with the Duchess [Amalia] and thus I am cut off from all hope as to the beautiful art of sound. The gloomy sky swallowes up all colours. Herder also is going now, and—a thousand times, farewell!" Charlotte herself tells her sister-in-law that she had delayed her setting out for Kochberg solely for the sake of Goethe and of the Gores, but both had dismissed her as if she were a stranger, and only tediousness had been exchanged between them.

On August 6, 1788, Herder started for Italy. Thus Goethe lost for a long time his best consolation and support, for Knebel was at that time extremely depressed and, more over, had not the deep insight of Herder. With Herder Goethe had talked over the discoveries in physiognomy which he had made when considering the creation of ideal characters in plastic art,¹ and had found his clear sympathetic comprehension delightful. Goethe stood by Herder's wife as a true friend during her husband's absence.

Since the previous year Weimar had had a noteworthy new resident in Charlotte von Kalb. This lady, now five and twenty, had hoped to procure in Weimar a divorce from her husband in order that she might become Schiller's wife, but there had been difficulties in the way of procuring the divorce, and Schiller's heart had found a dearer bondage. Her unhappy lot had frightened her back on herself, her emotions were violent, there was in her character a passionate precipitateness, an enthusiastic excitability, and all repelled rather than interested Goethe, which she probably perceived.

At this time Goethe was disappointed in the Duke. The military service in Prussia, which withdrew the Duke so

¹ See Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788, see also Goethe's letter to Herder, *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt*, August 23, 1787.—71

frequently from Weimar was a worse thing as Goethe now came to see it than it had appeared when viewed from the distance of Italy. Then the Duke's regardless self abandonment to the passion for the beautiful English woman displeased Goethe and the Duchess was bitterly mortified when Karl August persuaded the Gore family to prolong their stay in Weimar. When after this the Duke hurt his foot Goethe had to spend the greater part of every day with him and the Duchess.¹ The Duchess showed remarkable good sense in these circumstances and she was more friendly to Goethe than ever. Notwithstanding the hurt foot the Duke would go to his regiment at Aschersleben but soon had to return and Goethe must again give up most of his time to the invalid.

The poet's mood was very variable now he felt happy in his love now he was almost in despair. Once he told Herder's wife that not affection but despair had driven him to come see her he had just left the Duke. On his birth day he said bitterly to her that if on that day a year ago he had received Herder's *God*³ he this year believed in God no longer. At this time he was putting together his eighth volume—that containing the shorter poems, he began to work

¹ See Goethe to Herder September 4 1788 —TR

For instance Goethe writes to Herder September 4 1788 — The weather is still very gloomy and slays my spirit when the barometer is low and the landscape has no colours how can one live

September — Oh my brother what evil spirit urged thee to call me back from Italy! I could have been the entertainer and we should have laughed at them all. May all be for the best to thee only for God's sake none of that easy good nature which pelican like tears her own breast to nourish bastards! I live very strangely Very much to myself and await the time and the hour —TR

³ See Goethe's letter to Herder *Zweiter Rom scher Abenthalt Pome* August 28 1787 The full name of Herder's book is *Gott Eine Gesprache über Spinoza's System* —TR

at *Tasso* without getting very far,¹ began also his essay *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and made extracts from the letters and diary of his travel to give to Wieland, with whom he was on very good terms, for the *Merkur*. The most important of these was the treatise *Einfache Nachahmung der Natur, Manner, Stil*,² in which he expresses with clearness and decision the fundamental principles of his theory of art.

On September 5, 1788, accompanied by Herder's wife, by Fritz Stein and by Charlotte's sister-in-law, Frau von Schardt, Goethe drove to Kochberg. The day was lovely. At Kochberg they were welcomed by Lotte von Lengefeld from Rudolstadt, and by Charlotte. The former, now one-and-twenty, had been known to Goethe since 1783. Charlotte treated Goethe with coldness, and this rendered him very gloomy, but also the thought of the change in himself since he had last seen Kochberg threw a dark shadow over his soul. He could not now write "*Ebendieselbe*" on Charlotte's desk.³ He showed various drawings that he had brought, and read aloud from the extracts which he had been preparing for the *Merkur*. On September 7, they drove over to Rudolstadt to visit *Oberhofmeisterin* von Lengefeld, Lotte's mother. There they found Schiller, who loved Lotte. Schiller had long been looking forward to acquaintance with Goethe, and had already greeted him through Charlotte von Stein. They had friendly talk together, both indoors and on a stroll beside the Saale, yet there was none of that intimate converse which reveals soul to soul. Goethe told with passionate love about Italy, in language "flowing, full of soul, alive." Schiller thought that they would never draw very near one another, as Goethe was so

¹ Goethe to Knebel, October 11, 1788 — "Tasso advances but slowly" —TR

² *On the simple Imitation of Nature, on Manner, on Style* —TR

³ See vol. 1 p. 394 —TR

much further on than he was and besides their natures even



FIG. 3. CHARLES DE LENCLOS DURING HIS STAY FROM 1781 TO 1782. From a copy of his book "SCHILLER ET LEA."

in the beginning were essentially diverse. That evening driving back to Kochberg in the moonlight, Goethe repeated aloud

his poem *Die Geheimnisse* (which he had again taken up in order to prepare it for the eighth volume of his works), and he spoke of the plan of his *Tasso*. As they drove from Kochberg to Weimar on September 8, Schiller's *Götter Grünlands* being the occasion, Goethe talked of the veritable ideals of the ancient sculptors in their gods and heroes, he had found the clue to these ideals, and in ten years, if he could live in Rome with an income of ten or twelve thousand thalers, he would demonstrate them.

The visit to Kochberg had cooled Goethe still more, but how happy he was in Christiane's arms! He loved the girl with such warm affection that ten years later, when on a journey, he writes to her regretting that he has with him nothing of hers, not even a slipper!¹ A pleasant week was procured to him by a visit to Gotha with Prince August of Sachsen-Gotha, during which he succeeded in perfecting *Künstlers Apothecos*¹ for his eighth volume. And now Goethe heard with bitterness that his friend Kayser had left the Duchess Amalia, his direct, honest, and rather stiff temper having brought him into collision with some of her train. Thus Goethe might as well not have given up Kayser to the Duchess, had indeed better not, as the abrupt breach made further connection with Weimar Court impossible for the musician. At times Goethe feels so unhappy in Weimar that he only "waits the time and the hour" to leave.² By frequent short flights he sought to be rid of the inner unrest, he feared the coming storm. Towards the end of September 1788, anxiety about the mines drew him to Ilmenau, it was only with great labour that the water could be subdued. After his return he went hard to work on *Tasso*.³

¹ A pendant to *Künstlers Erdewallen*. See vol. 1 p. 249—TR

² Goethe to Herder, September 22, 1788. See p. 65—TR

³ Goethe to Knebel, October 1, 1788—"Nun bin ich eifrig an *Tasso*, er geht von statten" October 11—"Tasso rückt nur sehr langsam"—TR

In the first place, it is important to understand
which come to be before they can be right.
(And it is best that you realize this.) But the
two parts of the truth are now here -
you will then see what I mean by right
and wrong. The second part is
that you must have a desire to do good work
in the first place. You must want
to do good work.

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* 31-10-1970 - Tr

The first of the Friday Assemblies fell on November 7 There Goethe, in order to avert suspicion of his secret love, put on extreme mirthfulness, and was very amiable towards the younger ladies, and thus drew on himself the anger of Charlotte's little sister-in-law, who was hostile to him already , her account is that he hardly spoke a word with any woman of discretion, but kissed every young girl's hand in turn, said pretty things to each, and danced a great deal At heart he was very far from being what he seemed On November 9 he went with Fritz Stein to Jena, where he stayed until November 22 He attended Loder's lectures on the muscles, learned and thought a great deal, and in order to silence the uneasiness within went to concerts and parties¹ On November 30 he went with the Duke to Gotha Court for a few days There he spoke to Karl August and the Gotha Minister, von Frankenberg, of appointing Schiller as Professor Extraordinary of History at Jena, a project of which Voigt and Charlotte von Stein were the eager supporters The Duke and Frankenberg agreed, and Goethe was charged to communicate the matter to the Privy Council of Weimar

A great joy it was when, on December 4, the day of our poet's return from Gotha, the "excellent"² Moritz arrived in Weimar to stay there eight weeks in Goethe's house Moritz not only brought fresh life to a multitude of Roman memories, but entered with sympathy into all thoughts in pleasant, interesting converse Goethe introduced his friend to the Duke, who was delighted with him and took lessons in English from him Moritz was soon "the Prophet"³ of the chief Weimar ladies, of Charlotte von Stein above all, notwithstanding the deifying

¹ See Goethe's letter to Fritz Stein, November 18, 1788 Fritz had gone back soon to Weimar —TR

² "Grundguter," Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788 —TR

³ This is from one of Caroline Herder's letters, December 25, 1788 —TR

reverence with which he regarded Goethe. At length Moritz's communication of his treatise, *Ueber die Bildende Nachahmung des Schönen* produced division. Charlotte with others especially Knebel declared against it, Schiller adopted an intermediate view.

On December 9 Goethe formally reports to the University Council on the matter of Schiller's professorship. The University will profit by this appointment, and the Duke favours it observes Goethe's *Premières*. Schiller's bearing is grave and courteous and it may be credited that he will have good influence on young people. On December 11, 1788, the Duke sent forth to the three Courts, Gotha Coburg and Meiningen partners with Weimar in Jena University recommending the appointment of Schiller. On December 17 Goethe received the visit of Schiller who had wished to meet him alone in order to derive from the interview some intellectual and spiritual profit. 'In the evenings the Duke is almost always there' wrote Schiller to his betrothed Charlotte von Lengefeld and in the forenoon he is besieged with business. Goethe was friendly to Schiller and urged him not to be deterred from accepting the professorship by the fear that he was too ignorant for it, his appointment would be a gain to himself and to the University. But the alliance which Schiller hoped for was not yet to be formed, Goethe wished to be Schiller's benefactor not his friend and indeed felt how far apart they stood.

At this time Goethe finished his description of the Roman Carnival¹ and laboured at *Tasso* with such zeal that he hoped to complete it ere Moritz should leave but about the middle of January 1789 it came to a standstill. He found himself unable to celebrate the birthday of the Duchess by any poem. Meanwhile to his other responsibilities was added that of

¹ See p. 49—Tr.

arranging for the building of a new Castle for Weimar , his fellow-commissioners were Voigt and Wedel

On February 1, 1789, the Duke started for Berlin with Moritz , he did not return until three weeks had passed Meanwhile Goethe found more joy than ever in his hidden love On February 19 Charlotte von Stein was present at a performance of Gotter's farce, *Der Schwarze Mann*, and, strange enough, the leading incidents reminded her so strongly of Goethe's faithlessness, which had robbed her life of charm, that she was overcome with agitation, and almost became ill She could not receive Goethe when he called to see her after the performance When he had her explanation on the following morning, he wrote —“It has grieved me very much that the tasteless, miserable piece has pained you so by its reminder of a dreary reality I will expect you this evening Let us as friends unite our joy and sorrow, that the few days of life may be happy Farewell, and love me” But how could the interview to which he looks forward here have done anything towards reconciliation ! The secret, which he could not man himself to tell her, was soon after discovered In the first instance, it is said, through Fritz Stein, who found Christiane, a stranger to him, in the *Gartenhaus* Herder's wife knew of it from Charlotte on March 8, 1789 Charlotte's love was now transformed to the most active bitterness , she could not find words cruel enough to speak of Goethe's mistress She did not know (how should she?) what an enduring union had been formed But Charlotte's loss was a dreadful one Her ideal of an austere virtuous man, lifted above the common sensual needs of human nature, was gone , gone her hope of a happy, intellectual life by the side of her supreme friend, her Fritz's second father All the women of rank of Weimar pitied Charlotte and condemned Goethe, all except one

The Duchess Luise judged with a larger humanity the eminent man whose noble and moral nature she had had so much occasion to prize through many years. She felt how great his suffering after his return from Italy had been how the prolongation of the relation with Charlotte would have galled him more and more. As for Goethe the more violent the ardour of hatred of the poor girl to whom he had vowed his faith the more lovingly did he clasp her to himself. Wonderfully lighter he felt too now that his secret was out and the storm broken that had oppressed his spirit in the coming let it rage! The perfect rapture of his love found utterance in the *Romisch Elegien* where the background is the happiness that had been his in the Eternal City, where the model is the poetry of the Roman 'Triumvir of Love,'¹ where the inspiration is the warm throbbing of his own ecstatic heart.

The Duke heard the earlier Elegies read aloud before his departure on April 1 1789 for Aschersleben. He had ere this probably at Goethe's instance, appointed Fritz Stein who was not yet sixteen to be *Hofjunker* and *Kammerassessor*. With gladness Goethe heard that during the last few weeks Merck had rallied his spirit and in the kindly Frankfurt circle with Goethe's mother and Goethe's friends again felt some happiness. During the Duke's absence more *Elegien* were written. Tasso progressed a successful endeavour was made in encaustic painting (an art learned at Rome). Kraus was prompted to work at a landscape after a special method, the building of the Castle and the affairs of the University were attended to. Goethe thought at this time of going in the autumn of 1789 to join the Duchess Amalia in Italy returning in the summer of 1790.

On April 13 1789 the quiet was disturbed by the pre-

¹ See p. 47 — TR

mature confinement of the Duchess, whose infant died a few minutes after birth. The Duke, who returned immediately, showed himself very good and kind, but nevertheless the Duchess's sorrow was very great. Herder being at this time invited to Göttingen University, Goethe urged that he must be kept for Jena at all cost.

Shortly after, Goethe put the finishing touch to his unpopularity. *Capellmeister* Reichardt of Berlin, the composer to *Claudine*, had announced a month before that he was about to visit the poet. Now he came,¹ and Goethe, though prepossessed against him, was so pleased with him as to receive him into his house, and this disgusted all Weimar. With Reichardt's music to *Claudine*, soon to be performed in Berlin, Goethe was delighted. The Weimar ladies were invited to hear the separate acts rehearsed, but they would only praise parts of the composition, because they hated Reichardt. When about this time Goethe received a letter of reproach from Charlotte, he replied in a tone of the greatest moderation, without approaching the main subject of her displeasure, for he was not going to give up Christiane. When Charlotte set out for the Rhine watering-places on May 5, 1789, she left behind a letter, whose sharp accusation wounded him so much that he could not summon resolution to reply.

During the time immediately following Goethe devoted himself to the Duchess, with faithful sympathy endeavouring to assuage her pain. He worked on at *Tasso*, a poem in which the Duchess felt much interest, and was as usual diligent in many occupations. Christiane's love made him very happy. His only annoyance was the delay of the architect, Arends of Berlin, who had been summoned to undertake the rebuilding of the Castle. "In the evenings I play

¹ April 23, 1789. See Duntzer, *Aus Goethe's Freundschaften*, for an account of Goethe's relations with Reichardt.—TR

the host of your Promenades when Goethe merrily to the Duke 'and endeavour now with tea now with our milk to win the favour of the women while the men are scattered by mighty Destiny to the gaming-table.' The women were still bitterly hostile. Goethe interested himself in every possible way in the Hereditary Prince. They went together to Belvedere on May 9 1789 to stay some time for he hoped to finish *Tasso* there. Luther on May 31 were Herder's wife and Charlotte von Kalb and enjoyed the few hours spent with the poet very much. He read aloud from *Tasso* now at length nearly finished. Charlotte von Kalb was deeply moved "I am has waked again" she said.

On June 1 Goethe could no longer put off answering this last letter from Charlotte. How much I love you how well I know my duty towards you and towards Imit. I have proved by returning from Italy. If the Duke had his will I should be there still. Herder was going thither and as I did not foresee that I might be useful to the Hereditary Prince I had hardly anything to regard but you and Imit. What I have left behind in Italy I may not repeat you have received my confidences on that head with sufficient unselfishness. Unfortunately, when I came back you were in a strange mood and I confess plainly that the way in which you and others received me pained me very much. I saw Herder and the Duchess depart, I saw in the carriage an empty place that I was urged to take. I remained for the sake of my friends as for their sake I had returned and at that very moment I must hear it obstinately repeated that I might as well have stayed away that I had no human sympathy and so on. And all this before there could be any question of a relation which seems to wound you so much. And what kind of relation is it? Who is made poorer by it? Who claims the feelings

¹ Goethe to Karl August May 1 1789 —TR

which I give to the poor thing?¹ [Observe that he does not venture on Christiane's name] Who claims the hours that I spend with her? Ask Fritz, ask the Herders, ask every one who is intimate with me whether I am less willing to hear confidences, less willing to confide, less active for my friends than before? Whether, on the contrary, I do not now for the first time belong to them and to society aright! And it must be through a miracle, if I should have lost only the best and deepest relation of all—to thee How vividly I have felt that it still exists, when on one occasion I found you willing to talk with me on interesting subjects But, I confess frankly, the way in which you have hitherto treated me I cannot endure When I was disposed to talk, you have closed my mouth, when I was communicative, you blamed me for indifference, when I was active for friends, you blamed me for coldness and neglectfulness Unhappily, for a considerable time you have despised my advice about coffee, and have adopted a regimen which is very bad for your health As if it were not hard enough, morally, to conquer certain impressions, you strengthen the hypochondriac, torturing power of dreary imaginings by a physical agency, the harmfulness of which you have been aware of for some time, and which, out of love for me, you had avoided for a while, and with good result to your health May the baths, the journey, do you a great deal of good I do not altogether give up the hope that you will come to know me again Farewell Fritz is happy, and often visits me”

Meanwhile Charlotte had met Goethe's mother in Frankfurt She was greatly pleased with Frau Aja, and tells Fritz — “I could love her right well and live with her . She loves you well, write to her constantly, for to hear about her son is

¹ *Das arme Geschöpf*—not in contempt but in pity, she is so much slandered by the fine Weimar ladies —TR

her whole life. The ring with his head [which Fritz had sent] has delighted her extremely, she had it on her finger. When Charlotte arrived at Wiesbaden and found no letter from Goethe awaiting her, she felt great pain. After long almost despairing waiting she went on to Ims and there she received his letter of June 1. Over it she wrote O'!!

On June 7, 1789 Goethe returned to Weimar. On the 8th he wrote a second letter to Charlotte of whose visit to Frankfurt he had heard from his mother. He acknowledges how grieved he is in the dreary outward circumstance of Weimar through which she no less than he suffers to have added to her trouble. "Help me" he appeals to her "that the relation to which you are adverse may not degenerate but may remain as it is." But of what avail were all friendly words beside this distinct declaration that he could not give up Christiane. It was like mockery when he appealed to her to look at the matter from a natural point of view. The breach was not to be healed.

Meanwhile Goethe had been treating with Arends about the Castle, and found it delightful to have an artist near him again. He now strove to bring from Rome another artist the draughtsman and engraver Lips. All that he could offer indeed, was the money to pay for the journey. Lips need not wrote Goethe fear that he will starve on Art in Germany. When Lips declared that he would come trusting to this assurance Goethe replied that he could not give any pledge on the subject, and then had precise information as to the current Leipzig prices of engravings forwarded to Lips who might make his calculations by them. Notwithstanding the heavy rain at the close of June 1789 Goethe found the time very happy in his quiet, domestic life. As he might expect to be a father at the close of the year he gave up his plan of going to Italy in the autumn. He also desired

a larger and better house, standing in more open space, for the reason above indicated, besides, being near Charlotte von Stein was now as unpleasant as it had once been delightful. His wish was fixed on the little *Jagdhäus* near the *Frauenthor*, where, it will be remembered, he had lived for a short time in 1776¹. This house belonged to the Duke, but was probably tenanted at this time. Voigt seems to have arranged matters so that Goethe was able to take possession late in the autumn of 1789.

During the close of June and the early part of July 1789, Goethe was engaged in revising the two last acts of *Tasso*. He also brooded on *Faust*, which he now resolved to publish as a fragment,² even leaving the interstices between scenes unfilled. On July 5, 1789, altogether unexpectedly, he brought *Tasso* to a conclusion at Belvedere, where a few weeks ago he had been working on it so diligently. On July 6, Charlotte von Stein returned to Weimar, she declined all intercourse with Goethe.

On July 9, 1789, Herder came back from his Italian journey. His ill-humour could not withstand the ardent friendliness of Goethe's welcome. Goethe delighted to talk with Herder about Italy, and especially to exchange thoughts on the antiques and the discovery of their ideals.³ The improvement of Herder's position in Weimar, as to which Charlotte also showed such friendly zeal, lay on Goethe's heart. The two last acts of *Tasso* were submitted to Herder, and the *Romische Elegien* were read to him. Herder praised the *Elegien*.

On July 22, Goethe went by the Duke's invitation to Wilhelmsthal Castle, he was accompanied by the Hereditary Prince, the Prince's tutor, and Herder's boy August. At

¹ See vol 1 p 324 ² Goethe to Karl August, July 5, 1789 —TR

³ See p 64 —TR

Wilhelmsthal he spent two days modelling in wax the profile of a bearded curly haired Jupiter. And now he put the final touches to the last two acts of *Tasso* which Herder had praised¹. From the watering place Ruhla whither Goethe followed the Duke he writes to Herder on August 10 1789 — I am very glad that *Tasso* has pleased you. Now we are free from all desire to undertake any consequent composition like that. The fragmentary nature of erotic trifles pleases me better. Some more of these have been done. Earlier in the letter Goethe tells Herder that the Duke is becoming very fond of August which is important for the boy's future. Of his own domestic longings let the following witness — Here we are in the land of the famed mountain nymphs and yet I can assure you that I long earnestly for home to find again my friends and a certain little *eroticum* whose existence your wife will probably have confided to you. Goethe returned to Weimar about a week later.

In Weimar his first efforts were directed to the final settlement in the matter of Herder, who was appointed Vice President of the Consistory to procuring support for young Facius as an engraver, and to the matter of bringing Meyer from Rome to Weimar. Goethe writes to Meyer August 1 1789 — If you wish to stay in Rome two years more I can promise you a hundred scudi [per annum]. When the two years are over come to us. I will see to the cost of the journey and that you find a situation here adapted to your tastes and views (*Gemüthsart*). If I can promise you no great pension you shall have what you need. Already in the spring of 1789 Goethe had advised Christiane's brother to go to Leipzig and had written to Goschen on his behalf sending him a letter through Goschen. From Vulpius's letters says Goethe 'I must suppose that his spirit has suffered through

his distressful lot”¹ Writing to Goschen on June 22, 1789, Goethe recurs to Vulpius, perhaps the publisher could employ the young man in some of the numerous branches of the book-trade, and Goethe is prepared to contribute to his support When, in August 1789, Vulpius had arrived in Leipzig, Goethe wrote to his old friend, J G Breitkopf — “Confiding in the friendly relations of former times, I take the liberty to commend to your attention a young man who will hand you this letter He wishes to stay in Leipzig, that he may find there better fortunes than have been his heretofore I hope that he will not be burdensome to you Be so kind as to allow him to see you often, and to open his mind to you Provide him, if possible, some acquaintances and connections, that he may earn something by literary work” Vulpius now began to print away stoutly

The events of the autumn in France roused no sympathy in Goethe, who in this differed entirely from Gleim, Klopstock, and so many who saw in them the dawn of liberty It was still in Goethe’s mind to treat the story of the Diamond Necklace as a *comic* opera under the title *Il Conte*, and of this project he had spoken to Reichardt Meanwhile Reichardt had brought out *Claudine* at the Court of Berlin, and on the Crown Prince’s birthday at the National Theatre, and its reception had been very good Beside studies in natural science, putting *Faust* in order occupied the time, this he found a harder task than the composition of *Elegies*, which had not yet ceased On September 15, 1789, Goethe went to Jena with the famous Freiberg mineralogist, Werner Werner explained his new theory of volcanoes, and Goethe thought it very acute and well considered On September 29, 1789, at the wish of the Duke, Goethe went with the Duchess and Fraulein Waldner to Aschersleben, where he could see Karl August in his military

¹ Goethe to Goschen, April 23, 1789 — TR

splendour The Rosstrippe was ascended during this visit. Hardly had Goethe returned to Weimar ere he started on October 10 1789 for Leipzig where Vulpius was. The news of the October riots at Versailles¹ filled Goethe with horror in them he saw what the unchained passion of a nation long oppressed may lead to. After a couple of days in Leipzig Goethe returned to Weimar where he found a letter from Kaysers awaiting him Kaysers having been ill for a good while had on recovery begun to compose *Scherz List und Rache* for the third time. Goethe writes that he wishes Kaysers to finish the music as speedily as possible then in Goethes seventh volume to appear at Easter the announcement of Kaysers music may accompany the text of the operetta. Goethe has spoken to Breitkopf about publishing Kaysers proposed composition *Romische Nebenstunden*.

Goethes official activity was now engaged by the Ilmenau mines, which had been making them uneasy of late and by the breaking out of the Saale at Jena. Writing to the Duke on November 5 1789 Goethe announces that *Faust* is ready so far as it will be made ready on this occasion². In the same letter he says that he is working diligently at Greek and has good hopes. This is remarkable if we consider how busy and anxious he then was. The change of house was at hand and anxiety about Christianes confinement had already begun to oppress his thoughts. In November 1789, in the middle of the bustle of changing arrived Lips whom he had longed so

¹ On October 5 1789 the Menad of Paris led by shifty Usher Maillard amid wild October weather a wild unwinged stork flight through the astonished country wend their way to Versailles. On October 6 the Royal Family was brought into Paris —TR

Roman Hours of Idleness Goethe to Kaysers October 18 1789 Burkhardt Goethe und Kaysers S 73-5 —TR

² Faust ist fragmentirt das heisst in seiner Art fu diessmal abgethan —TR

much to see "We are now gently working ourselves together,"¹ writes Goethe to the Duke, November 20, 1789 "Meanwhile, I have been spurred on to write down my thoughts on Botany It looks as though a book which I see announced to appear at Easter may anticipate me Then I will, at least, come in at the same time"

On November 28, 1789, the Duke returned to Weimar three days later Goethe went with him to visit Dalberg in Erfurt On December 4 the Duke, Dalberg, and Goethe went to Jena, when the presentation of the professors took place One of the professors since Easter 1789 had been Schiller, of whose betrothal to Lotte von Lengefeld Goethe knew Dalberg endeavoured to make Goethe and the Duke decide on paying a salary to Schiller On December 5 Goethe dined at Court Dalberg was present and Schiller's Lotte Christiane was at this time very ill, Goethe very anxious and depressed But Christiane's condition improved after a couple of weeks, and Goethe could go to Jena on December 21, 1789, to talk with Batsch of the botanical essay already mentioned the essay was now begun ere leaving Jena. (Batsch had been appointed Professor Extraordinary in Jena, and through Goethe's influence was allowed a small salary, with the use of a part of the Prince's Garden for scientific purposes) Goethe had meant to give a great tea-party on the evening of December 25 in his spacious new house, but on that day (Charlotte von Stein's birthday) Christiane brought forth a son The Duke was the god-father The birth of this son was a great joy to Goethe, who had a deep sense of the responsibility On December 27 Julius August Walther Goethe was baptized in his father's house by Herder On December 28 Goethe was visited by Schiller's betrothed and by Wilhelm von Humboldt he showed them beautiful impressions of gems Of the six

¹ "Wir arbeiten uns nun sachte zusammen ein"—TR

last days of the year there was but one December 8 on which he did not dine at Court, three times Herder was also present His friends at Court were glad in his gladness and he did not permit any extraneous considerations to mar his joy in his own fireside, his own Christiane his own son August

CHAPTER II

VENICE—SILESIÄ—THE DUCAL AFFAIRS—OPTICS—
THE NEW HOUSE

JANUARY 1790-JUNE 1792

IN the two years that follow Goethe entered on a new official activity and a new scientific field. The third year brought him a house of his own as a gift from his prince, whom he had had to follow into the tumult of the war, an excursion on which the dangers threatening Western Germany were brought near him with painful vividness.

After all, the conflict with society had tried Goethe very much; he was again in need of the bracing and refreshing influence of travel. But, in the beginning of 1790 the question war or peace? was in the balance. Accordingly, the Duke hastened to Berlin, accompanied by Voigt, whose admirable business powers have been already spoken of. Goethe was left in charge of many affairs, which fully occupied the two first months of the year. Every preparation was made so that the building of the Castle might begin immediately upon the return of the Duke. In telling the Duke of this Goethe praises the skill and good sense of the architect Arends. Then the Ilmenau mines were a source of trouble, a second machine for keeping down the water was necessary. Baldauf, the mining expert from Schneeberg, was expected. The tran-

scription of *Faust* and the essay *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* were placed in the printer's hands. Of the latter Auguste de St. Hilaire says that it is one of those few books which not only render their authors immortal but are immortal themselves. On February 5 Goethe wrote the first *Elegie* of the year 1790.¹ Soon after he went to Ilmenau where with the help of Baldauf who had at length arrived, he hopes to conquer the subterranean Neptune. Besides the levying of taxes and many other things fell on Goethe's shoulders.²

The Duchess Amalia who had lingered a good while in Naples now caused her *Oberhofmeister*, Einsiedel to write to Goethe pressing him to come to meet her in Italy. This invitation reached Goethe at the close of February 1790. The beautiful weather seemed also to invite to travel. He wrote immediately (February 8) to Berlin begging of the Duke the needful six weeks leave of absence. Without expense I should thus secure a great bit of pleasure for I must once more see something foreign. And I will certainly be useful to your mother. Send me also a word to say how you are and when the reviews take place this year if there is not war. I should like to spend 90 as much as possible in the open air. On March 1 Goethe writes that they must not however be late for the crowning of the Emperor in Frankfurt these are pleasant things to look forward to.

Certain that the Duke would give permission Goethe began at once to prepare. He started about the close of the first week of March 1790 travelling with his servant Gotz

¹ Goethe to Karl August February 6 1790 —Tr

Reading *Aegte* instead of the incomprehensible *St. gbau* of the reprints of Goethe's letter. In German writing characters the two words are like each other —Tr

² See the letters to Karl August in this period —Tr

in the little Bohemian chaise in which the Duke had made so many journeys¹ In his passionate longing for travel he had at first forgotten that he would leave wife and child alone The parting from them made him "quite soft,"² and he felt sorrow, too, in bidding farewell to Herder's boy August

In Jena he was detained several days by "a complicated mischief," as he tells Herder Writing again to this steadfast friend on March 12, 1790, he says —"As towards the end one begins to grow tender and anxious, it then first struck me that after my departure my maiden and my little one are left altogether alone, should anything befall them, in which she could not help herself I have told her, in such an extreme case, to turn to you Pardon!" The "abomination of discordances," which Goethe could only "cloak over,"³ having detained him so long in Jena, he used the more speed in his journey afterwards On the Wednesday before Easter, March 31, 1790, he arrived in Venice, where he was to await the Duchess

The old enthusiasm for Italy had altogether passed away He felt very intensely now how much unseemliness and wrong there was in Italian life , and no doubt the thought of home and Christiane had much to do with the uneasiness and bitterness of his mood He began to write *Epigrams* in the manner of Martial Thus on April 3, 1790, he writes to the Duke — "My *Elegies* have attained their highest sum, and the little book would be closed On the other hand, I am bringing a *Libellus Epigrammatum* back with me" The delay in the arrival of the Duchess was annoying Still, though so much

¹ Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1790 —TR

² "Ganz murbe" Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790] —TR

³ "Greuel der Missverhaltnissen," Goethe to Herder, Jena, March 12, 1790 "Bemanneln," Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790] —TR

in this Stone and Water nest ¹ displeased him he was able to find much to amuse and instruct during his stay. Indeed the delay led to a fruitful discovery.

On May 4 1790, Goethe writes to Herder's wife —

During the past month I have *seen read thought, written* [the *Epigramme* had grown to a hundred] more than in a year at other times when the neighbourhood of friends and of my good treasure makes me quite comfortable and happy. By a strangely happy chance—that Gotz for a jest took up an animal's skull at the Jewish cemetery and jokingly presented it to me as a Jew's skull—I have made a great step forwards in the explanation of animal development. Now again I stand before another door until fortune hands me the key. The skull which Gotz picked up had split in so happy a way as to make plain to Goethe's eyes the truth of his prevision that the skull is a metamorphosed vertebra. The letter continues —

Nor have I neglected to contemplate the sea monsters and on them too have made some beautiful observations. He also writes — The old Zucchi [Angelika Kauffmann's husband] is very friendly. He gives me lectures on the Directory and explains to me the strange constitution of this state, while I run through the Venetian history. I have almost looked myself sick at pictures and really must pause for a week. On April 15 he had written to Herder that he was studying the history of Venetian painting with great delight. Moreover from the artists employed at the academy for the restoration of paintings Goethe learned much as to the methods employed by the old masters in priming and laying on tints. The arrival in Venice on May 5 1790, of Heinrich Meyer who was but a short time recovered from a dangerous illness was a great joy to Goethe. And next day came the Duchess accompanied by his dear friend Bury. A busy time of sight seeing followed.

¹ Goethe to Herder April 15 1790 —TR ² *Adresskale der* —TR

first in Venice, then in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua. In the city last named Bury stayed, while Meyer went thence to Switzerland for the benefit of his health¹. In Augsburg Goethe received from the Duke an invitation to the Prussian camp in Silesia². For the King of Prussia, seeing that the negotiations with Austria were paralysed, meant to try whether his personal presence in Silesia with an army ready for battle would hurry matters, and the Duke of Weimar was charged with the inspection of the Magdeburg cavalry regiments.

On June 20, 1790, Goethe returned with the Duchess Amalia to Weimar, glad at heart to be with his dear ones again. The Duke repeated his invitation, but his happiness in his home, the need that he should wait to see the Duchess Amalia comfortably settled, the building of the Castle and other business, detained Goethe a considerable time. The last volume of his works, with *Faust* and the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, now lay printed before him. He writes to the Duke on July 1, 1790 — “The little botanical work gives me joy, for on every walk I find new vouchers for it. And I will now write together what I have thought as to the formation of animals” (On July 9 he tells Knebel how he will work on the approaching journey at the second part of the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and at the essay on the development of animals). Earlier in the letter to the Duke he says — “I am copying at my *Epigramme*. Many of them, indeed, are completely local, and can only be enjoyed in Venice”. From Kant’s *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, just published, shone a clear light for Goethe. Of the earlier works of this great philosopher, who pressed on his path with such steady, logical sequence, Goethe had but a general knowledge. But the great central thought of this book — that Nature and

¹ Goethe to Herder, Mantua, May 28, 1790 — TR

² This was received about June 10 or 11, 1790 — TR

Art are two altogether distinct worlds whose creatures have a perfect right to existence in themselves and further the rejection of final causes made a very direct appeal to Goethe and excited vivid interest As formerly from Spinoza so now from Kant he read forth only such things as were correspondent with his mode of thinking as illuminated it and confirmed it

Accompanied by his servant Gotz he again set out on July 26 1790 in the Duke's little chaise five weeks after his return to Weimar In Dresden last seen three and twenty years ago¹ he arrived on July 28, and was delighted and refreshed by the paintings, the antiques and the casts and besides he made many interesting acquaintances in his two days stay Thence he travelled to the camp at Grebischen before Breslau The Duke whom he now met after seven months parting was strong and stout With the camp as a central point Goethe traversed the beautiful country on all sides and gained many new views and conceptions When the King of Prussia arrived on August 11 the Duke of Weimar took up his quarters in the city of Breslau and Goethe went with him as guest Goethe kept eye and ear open in every direction hoping for increase of knowledge and wisdom Among the persons whom he met the one who pleased him most was the excellent business man *Oberbergrath* von Schuckmann Already probably he planned to gain Schuckmann for Weimar Alone, he made an excursion through the county of Glatz on a week's journey with the Duke he visited the mines of Tarnowitz, thence they went on to Cracow the ancient place of crowning of the Polish Kings now decaying more and more then the salt mines of Wieliczka and the place of pilgrimage Czenstochowa, were visited On this journey Goethe widened his knowledge of

¹ In 1767 See vol 1 pp 912 — Tr

Stark und dick Goethe to Herder Before Breslau August 10
1790 — T1

mining. He was comforted to find that in Tarnowitz they had to combat a flow of water still greater than that in the Ilmenau mine. Several *Ephigramme* were composed or sketched during this period, the comic opera *Il Conte* was continued, and the treatise on animal development begun. On September 11, 1790, having returned to "noisy, muddy, evil-smelling Breslau," Goethe writes to Herder—"Everywhere there is robbery and vagabondism, and I shall certainly pass no really happy hour until I have supped with you and slept by my girl's side. If you continue to love me, if a few good folk continue friendly, if my girl is true, if my child lives, and my big stove gives good warmth, I have nothing essential left to desire. The Duke is very good to me, and is happy in his element." Still Goethe enjoyed the week of delay in Dresden on his homeward journey. He had a great deal of intercourse with Schiller's friend Korner, to whom he spoke with earnestness and depth on the teleological part of Kant's *Kritik der Urtheils-kraft*, on Nature, and on Art. Some of the *Romische Elegien* were repeated to Korner. On October 6, 1790, the Duke, with whom Goethe travelled, was met at Jena by the Duchess and the Court with festal rejoicing.

On October 9, 1790, the roof of the new Castle of Weimar was put on. Immediately on Goethe's return, he fell to dictating at the essay begun in Breslau. When towards the end of October it came to a standstill, he went with Lips to Jena for a couple of weeks in order to hear Loder lecture on the muscles. During this stay he visited Schiller. "The conversation soon came upon Kant," writes Schiller. "It is interesting how he clothes everything in his own way and manner, and renders back surprisingly what he has read, but I would not like to dispute with him on things which interest me very much. He completely lacks that hearty fashion of confessing to any opinion, to him the whole of philosophy is subjective, and

that puts an end to both conviction and dispute. And I can not altogether approve of his philosophy it derives too much from the world of the senses where I derive from the soul. In general his mode of conceiving is too sensuous and *handles* (*betastet*) too much for me. But his spirit works and seeks in all directions and strives to build for itself a whole, and to me that makes him a great man.

When Goethe was back in Weimar the *Romische Elegien* and the *Epigramme* occupied him for a time he thought of printing the former but Herder counselled against it.¹ By Goethe's influence the Duke was moved to invite Schuckmann to a seat in the Privy Council of Weimar. The close of the year 1790 found the lower rooms of Goethe's new house still not perfectly ready. It was about this time that an important event in the scientific history of his mind occurred. A considerable while before he had borrowed some prisms from Buttner in order to perform the experiments of Newton. Now Loder sent entreating that these prisms should be given to the returning messenger, as Buttner was quite unhappy at not having received them after several requests. Goethe had never unpacked them and now had brought down the box in which they lay undisturbed, when it occurred to him to take one look through a prism. But what was his amazement when the white wall on which the rays were directed from the prism instead of showing several colours remained white colour showing only where something dark edged the white showing brightest of all on the window frames. Immediately he conceived that he had here discovered the Newtonian theory of light to be false and that in order to colour a boundary was necessary. He could not think of sending back the prisms, he sent begging for a prolongation of the loan. It escaped

¹ Goethe to Knebel January 1 1791 — TR

² Goethe to Schuckmann November 5 1790 — TR

him, that Newton distinctly says that colour is only manifest when one looks from a certain distance on a white surface of small extension.

Goethe's vivid feeling of the importance to painters of the distribution of light and shade, the importance, too, of the dark medium, contributed to hurry him into the belief that Newton's explanation of the origin of colours is erroneous. A great deal of delight, but also a great deal of pain, during half a lifetime was to proceed from the study of optics that now began. So much did he take to heart the methodic exposition of his theory, that many a time he was ready to set this performance of his above all the other things in which he had been successful.

Busy as he was in official and scientific activity, there was no lack of the cheery social life to which Christiane had the art to incline him. Evidence of this we have in the humorous reply to Reichardt, who had asked him for a great opera. Goethe asks Reichardt to send half a dozen or half a hundred airs for either English dances or quadrilles, only let them be characteristic, as for the figures they would make them out "Around me now," remarks Goethe, "there is neither music nor song that is not fiddling for the dance. . . If it goes tolerably with me in the dance and in life probably a tune will soon be heard again"¹. There were social evening gatherings at the Duchess Amalia's² in which Goethe gladly took part. At these assemblies there was reading aloud from the works of Shakespeare, Lessing, Wieland, and of Goethe himself. The Duchess Amalia, who possessed the earlier books of *Wilhelm Meister*, now persuaded Goethe to begin working on the novel,³ but only too soon he gave it up again.

¹ Goethe to Reichardt, October 25, 1790 —TR

² On Mondays —TR

³ Goethe to Knebel, January 1, 1791 —TR

Goethe was on the friendliest terms with the Duchess Luise. She was very bitter when she thought of the humiliation of the French monarchy beneath a disorderly democracy almost more bitter with those Germans who applauded the event. Goethe and Charlotte von Stein like her execrated the mad unrestrained delirium about freedom.

In the beginning of 1791 the Duke engaged in the task of founding a Court Theatre the management of which he offered in vain to the actor Beck of Mannheim who was then giving successful representations in Weimar. Already in 1790 in Berlin the Duke and Reichardt had had much discussion on the elevation of the German Theatre and both of them were very hopeful but Goethe thought it hardly possible to effect any good such was the bad taste prevalent. Of originality invention character of the unity and perfect finish of a work of art the Germans have not the least notion wrote Goethe to Reichardt at that time¹. And again The ruder class of spectators you captivate by variety and extravagance the more cultivated by a kind of propriety Knights Robbers Benefactors Grateful Benefited Persons an honest direct *Tiers État* an infamous Aristocracy and so on and pervading all a well sustained mediocrity of thought and language, out of which one by chance but ventures a few steps downwards into dulness or upwards into absurdity—here you have the ingredients and the tone of our novels and plays during the last ten years. But now when the Duke offered Goethe the control of the theatre he would not refuse it for after all he could at least raise the theatre from the condition to which it had sunk under Bellomo's management and he might hope to find in his work a new stimulus to dramatic poetry. The details of administration were to be under the care of Franz Kirms a man just turned thirty a *Landkammerath* and

¹ Enclosed in a letter to Karl August February 28 1790 —TR

Assessor of the Marshal of the Household Negotiations for the formation of a company, and the necessary preparations in Weimar, were immediately begun, and all haste was used For they hoped to open in May 1791, then a month later to go to the near watering-place Lauchstedt, then in Erfurt to give the company further practice in playing together, and at last in the autumn of 1791 to attempt higher tasks Goethe himself began to work up his *Conte* into a comedy, hazardous though the material seemed

He was also busy with the affairs of Ilmenau at this time The machine which Baldauf built had proved inadequate to subdue the water in the mine, Baldauf declared that two more were needed, and the money for these could not be procured until a meeting of shareholders had granted it On February 24, 1791, the anniversary of the opening of the mine in 1784,¹ Goethe concluded the *Fourth Report on the Progress of the new Mine at Ilmenau*

Nor had his optical inquiries been forgotten When, in the beginning of March 1791, he went to Jena with the Duke, he expounded his new theory to Professor Voigt, who in vain strove to show him its wrongness On this occasion Goethe visited Schiller, then recovering from a severe illness Goethe, as we have seen, had known and liked Schiller's wife for some time The loss which the University would sustain in Schiller's death weighed on Goethe

On April 5, 1791, Bellomo concluded his representations,² a month later those of the Ducal Theatre were to begin That this might be in some measure worthy what a vast amount of labour was needful! The famous manager Schroder came to Weimar on April 20, 1791 From him Goethe gained information on many points Shortly after

¹ Vol 1 p 419-420 —TR

² Begun in January 1784, see vol 1 p 422 —TR

this at the close of April poor Moritz very ill came to Weimar. With this friend Goethe spent a few delightful days talking of almost every matter of art or science upper most in his thoughts and profiting in many ways by Moritz's remarks¹

On May 7 1791 the Ducal Theatre of Weimar was opened with Iffland's play *Die Jäger* and a prologue by Goethe. It was at first necessary to adhere to well known pieces. On May 30 1791 Goethe can write to Reichardt —

'On the whole our theatre gives me pleasure it is already far better than the former one and now the task is to get them to play in unison to attend to certain mechanical advantages and to bring them by degrees from that lazy manner in which German actors comfortably drawl. I will write a few pieces myself approaching in some measure the taste of the present moment and will try whether by degrees people can be trained to enjoy a play in verse and richer in art. Unfortunately the resources of the theatre were so limited that even the chief actors had to undertake several parts had sometimes to appear as supernumeraries and to sing in the choruses in operas. The very servants the tailor of the theatre and the machinist had to appear. Pupils from the *Gymnasium* served in the chorus and the supernumeraries were chiefly these and other young persons.'

On May 17 1791 Goethe tells the Duke that he has written out the theory of blue colour and will insert it in some journal. And to his lively joy an objection of Herder's strikes the spark which lights up for him the simple principle of the *tints of the prism of the rainbow of magnifying glasses etc.* He tells Jacobi on June 1 that in a quarter of a year he hopes to have completed a new theory of light shade and colour. At this time Knebel with his sister came to Weimar

¹ Goethe to Reichardt May 30 1791 —TR

Goethe received both with friendliness Knebel was, however, most unpleasantly infected with the French ideas about freedom, and aired them even at Court with complete regardlessness

On June 6, 1791, Goethe attended the meeting of shareholders in Ilmenau, which, happily, granted the sums to pay for the new machines The Ducal company now betook themselves to Lauchstedt, where all went well On June 12, 1791, Goethe on behalf of the Duke offered Schuckmann the place in the Council which Goethe's resignation left vacant But Schuckmann would not leave the Prussian service, a great disappointment to Goethe and the Duke At this time, beside the building of the Castle and fresh improvements in Weimar Park, the entertainment of the Duchess Amalia occupied Goethe He now sketched the plan of an evening assembly of cultivated people to take place during the winter on the first Friday of every month at her house¹ Amid all the various claims on his attention the study of optics was continued with the happiest result, wonderful experiments were thought out and performed, the rainbow brought to great perfection² He had a good deal of trouble about mechanical matters of fabrication, for instance, about the cardboard pages on which for convenience' sake he wished to publish the numerous tables needful to establish his theories³

In the quiet happiness of Goethe's life at this time came a great shock Merck, by whose friendship through more than twenty years he had been benefited and sustained, tortured by bodily suffering and by the illusion that the

¹ The plan is reprinted in the appendix to the volume *Goethe's Briefe an Christian Gottlob Voigt* —TR

² Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1791 —TR

³ Goethe to Karl August, July 8, 1791 —TR

military chest of which he had the control exhibited a deficit had put an end to his life with a bullet.¹

In the second week of July 1791 Goethe left Weimar and travelled by Erfurt to Gotha where the appliances for the study of physics were of great service to him. From Gotha he visited Eisenach and also the Court at Wilhelmsthal. On this excursion he finished the third act of his comedy *Il Conte*. After his return he brought his treatise on the formation of colours rapidly to a conclusion so that on his birthday August 8 1791, he was able to announce that the first part of his *Betrachtungen über Optik* would soon appear. It was printed at Weimar in September 1791, first having been submitted to Herder. It only ran to four sheets. During September Goethe was besides engaged in finishing his comedy (to be called *Der Grosskopft*, not *Il Conte* as it first designed) and in planning how to give his theatre an impetus. The theatre was to reopen at Weimar on October 1 1791. Goethe wrote a prologue. The manuscript of *Der Grosskopft*, after having been read with pleasure by Herder was forwarded to Berlin for printing. Immediately after this a domestic misfortune befell which grieved Goethe deeply. Christine bore a dead boy on October 11 1791. Goethe threw himself lamenting on the ground and tossed to and fro in unspeakable grief.

The first of the Duchess Amalia's Friday evening assemblies took place on November 1 1791 the Duke being one of those present. Goethe, as President opened it with a very luminous exposition of his new observations in optics connecting these with the essay that he had hitherto published. The necessary diagrams he had sketched beforehand on a black surface. He argued against Newton's theory and showed how blind adoration can strike deep roots even in good minds.

¹ June 27 1791 —TR

² Contributions to Optics —TR

Goethe was followed by Herder, Voigt, the Court physician Hufeland, and the Jena professors Batsch and Lenz, each of whom delivered a short essay on some subject. Besides those here named, we know two others who were present—the old Buttner, and the Councillor of Consistory Bottiger. The latter had now been a month at work as Director of the Weimar *Gymnasium*. He had been appointed through the agency of Herder. Just turned thirty, gifted and erudite, he was a great gain to the intellectual life of Weimar, though one needed a little time to grow accustomed to his excitable, vivacious nature, and voice of the deepest bass¹.

Now at length Heinrich Meyer, completely restored to health, came to Weimar, and this was to Goethe a beginning of new life. For Meyer possessed a knowledge of Art and of the history of Art so fine and deep, that Goethe could think of no one to put by his side². People in Weimar might laugh at the broad Swiss accent of Meyer, but they could not help liking him. He took up his abode in Goethe's upper story, and became like a member of the family. It was perhaps in the beginning of this residence that Meyer painted in water-colour Christiane with her August in her arms in an attitude admirably modelled on that of the *Madonna della sedia*. This painting was a great favourite with Goethe, and was always kept carefully under a curtain³.

At this time Goethe was completely possessed with confidence in the fruitfulness of his theory of colour, yet he saw that he could not hope to subdue this province of Nature.

¹ From a letter of Bottiger's is derived our knowledge of that first Friday evening assembly. See it quoted in Duntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*—TR.

² *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*, December 25, 1787—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, 1 358, expressly states that from this picture only can one gain a notion of the freshness and charm of Christiane's appearance in those early days—TR.

singlehanded On November 17 1791 he writes to Reichardt — I have already entered into close union with a painter [Meyer] and with a mathematician [Professor Voigt of Jena?] and hope to form near and genuine intimacies in the other departments also' Earlier in the letter he proposes that Reichardt shall be his associate as to acoustics

He now ventured to prepare Shakespeare's *King John* for the stage Christiane Amalie Louise Neumann then but twelve years old he trained in the part of Arthur This girl had appeared in Bellomo's company in her ninth year, and with great applause The Duchess Amalia had committed her to the instruction of Corona Schroter and after the death of her father had become her protector With what passionate artist delight and partiality Goethe strove to cultivate this

beautiful talent¹ is known to readers of *Euphrosyne* the elegy that glorifies her memory Her Arthur was played with wonderful truth and perfect art Goethe worked hard to bring the other actors into accord with it as his effort in deed always was to secure a harmonious whole² After this he ventured on a performance of his own comedy *Der Grosskopfta* in which Fraulein Neumann played the effective part of the Niece with great success The comedy was represented first on December 17 1791 then on December 6 1791 then on March 10 1792 and again at Lauchstedt on July 15 1792 Reichardt was present at the last of these performances Goethe writes to Reichardt on July 29 1792 — I am glad that you have not lost your old partiality for the *Copheta* and that the representation in Lauchstadt has not altogether dis-

¹ Wunsch ich dir eines Tages t glücklich vollendet zu sehn is a line in *Euphrosyne* —TR

² *Euphrosyne* conceived on the Swiss journey of 1797 written 1798 —TR.

³ *King John* was first played in public in Weimar on November 29 1791 —TR

pleased you I will repeat it at least once every year as a sign For more than *one* reason the other German theatres will keep aloof from it" The epilogue for the last performance of the year 1791 was composed by Goethe for Fraulein Neumann, who spoke it on December 31, 1791, in the midst of many children

In the beginning of the new year, 1792, the year that concealed war in its bosom, the theatre and optical inquiry engrossed the poet In the second part of the *Beitrage zur Optik*, which was now prepared, he did not advance beyond the subjective phenomena of colour, he desired, as he told Reichardt on November 17, 1791, to make a methodic advance, to add experiment to experiment, not to promulgate his doctrine until it could and must be deduced from his experiments by any one Meyer was at this time engaged on a painting, *The Rave of the Daughters of Leucippus*, and in the colouring conformed to the results of Goethe's prism experiments Being exhibited at one of the Duchess Amalia's Friday Assemblies, this picture, to Goethe's triumph, won the highest admiration from all, as well for colouring as for composition (*Auffassung*) and presentation (*Darstellung*)¹ An important event in the history of the Weimar stage was the performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* on the birthday of the Duchess Luise (January 30, 1792) On January 28 *Hamlet* was performed, on February 28, Schiller's *Don Karlos*, which the author had worked over afresh, both plays were very successful On the other hand a performance of *Egmont* was coldly received, to Goethe's great regret

The second part of the *Beitrage zur Optik* was to appear at Easter, but the difficulty of packing the coloured card which illustrated the text delayed the booksellers in sending it out The publication of a third part, which was to have

¹ This Friday fell on February 17, 1792 We know of it from Bottiger Duntzei, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 55 —TR

F G H W m F m th d S(8) by Ott W gr r th f l f u rs
th t G th c mp ed f th d b

some sun or sun to heron
goes to the open sign
Brook 1/8 28.



appeared at the same time as the second, did not take place at all owing to the supplements. Towards the close of April 1792 Count Christian Stolberg stopped for a while in Weimar, he was going to Karlsbad, leaving his wife Luise in Weimar with the Countess Bernstorff. Christian Stolberg visited Goethe, and saw Goethe's "curly-golden-haired little boy." The Countess Stolberg, who abhorred Goethe's natural marriage, was very repellent to the latter because of her unrestrained tendency to censoriousness.¹ Christian Stolberg and Goethe never met afterwards.

Before going to Aschersleben the Duke commissioned Voigt to buy the house on the *Frauenplan* that Goethe had occupied from 1782 to 1789. The Duke purposed to make a present of it to Goethe. After a considerable time spent in bargaining, the house was bought for 6000 thalers.

While these things were going on in Weimar, Prussia, as the ally of Austria, was preparing for war with France. Goethe kept hoping that there would be no war, since "in these times of calculation we have seen a great deal of this kind of weather pass off."² The birth of a healthy prince on May 30, 1792, was a joy to the Duke, for good omen he gave the child the name of the great Weimar soldier Bernhard, the whole Weimar regiment stood godfather in the person of the *Obristwachtmeister* von Weyrach. During the stay of the Duke in Weimar, the rebuilding for Goethe of the newly-purchased house at the Duke's expense was sanctioned. After the Italian fashion, the six-windowed lower story was to contain, besides a large, gently-ascending staircase, only one great room with recesses. Goethe planned to live in the summer of 1792 in the little *Gartenhaus*, while his collections should be stored in a part of the lower story of the new house, which was to be made

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, June 15, 1792 —TR

² Goethes Briefe an Voigt, S. 146 —TR

ready at once. Here too he had a new *camera obscura* and all kinds of instruments for his experiments. The freedom vertigo which grew ever more distasteful stirred him to composition. He began a tale the *Reise der Söhne Megapra ons* but lost the humour for it before he advanced far. He tells Reichardt towards the close of July 1792 that he is working on a couple of pieces not to be brought on the stage but to attain their end by being printed since in that way the thinking part of the nation in truth no small part, can be reached. Without doubt these were political pieces probably sketches for the plays *Der Burgeneral* and *Die Aufgeregten*. Alas! his hope of working on the thinking part of the nation was completely disappointed, even his greatest friends were so little able to appreciate *Der Grosskopfta* that they compared it with *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*! (and even these had failed to kindle enthusiasm), and received it with coldness and shrugging of shoulders.

Since the middle of June 1792 German regiments had been moving towards the Rhine. Weimar was feverishly excited by their march through. The Duke was soon to depart and had many charges to lay on Goethe, and this added to the confusion of house changing deprived the poet of all quiet. On the morning of June 27 1792 the Duke left Weimar after having received from Goethe the promise of a visit at Coblenz. Later the Duke expressed a wish that Goethe instead of remaining on the Rhine should accompany him (the Duke) on the campaign into France. Goethe did his best to avoid this. Then he was tormented by long delay in the arrival of the Duke's decisive reply. As Karl August remained steadfast in his desire Goethe set forth from Weimar in the second week of August 1792 leaving with a heavy heart wife and child and his true friend Meyer who was to superintend the rebuilding and to counsel and support Christiane.

CHAPTER III

THE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE—JACOBI—THE PRINCESS GALITZIN—
REINEKE FUCHS—THE SIEGE OF MAINZ—FICHTL—VOSS—
SCHILLER

AUGUST 1792—SEPTEMBER 1794

THE Duke's little chaise again bore the poet and his servant Gotz from Weimar, their destination now was the German army of invasion in France Goethe took with him his MSS on optics, the third volume of Gehler's *Physikalischs Wörterbuch*, and a careful map of the seat of war His first stopping-place was his native city, where he had planned to remain until the end of the month, only making short excursions in the neighbourhood¹ He arrived in Frankfurt on August 12, 1792 The Frau Rath received her dear Wolfgang with infinite joy, she had now been a long time yearning in vain to see him! She thought him stronger and fuller Her maternal heart exulted as she once more pressed to her heart her dear son, whose fame brought so many strangers to her, for all the world was longing to see the mother of the famous poet, but she ascribed to God alone the gift of greatness It was indeed a source of regret to the Frau Rath that her son instead of a church-wedded wife had only a *Liebchen*, and that she could not advertise the birth of his children, but

¹ Goethe to Herder, August 13, 1792 —TR

her grandmotherly love for his August was not the less and she could not be harsh towards the poor unfriended maiden whom Wolfgang loved so well. On August 18, 1792 Goethe writes to Jacobi — My old friends and my increasing native city I have seen again with joy only it is impossible to avoid tedium in all the social circles, for where two or three are gathered together you hear the song now four years old being strummed *pro* and *contra* and not even with variations—but the crude theme Unfortunately the newspapers come everywhere, these are now my most dangerous foes The newspapers spread so much that was false that Goethe could not endure them He was pretty impartial himself and speaks in the same letter of his indifference to the fate of either aristocrat or democrat sinners. On August 16 1792 the Duke's summons to the camp had arrived On August 18 Goethe went on to Mainz, where he spent two pleasant evenings with his friends Forster and Sommering.

On August 17 1792, the eve of his birthday, Goethe reached the marshy camping ground of the Prussians outside the town of Longwy which had surrendered after a short resistance. He was glad to find the Duke of Weimar in right good health On August 8 1792 his birthday he visited Longwy accompanied by the Duke and some friends In the inn they drank the health of the Duke and of his son the god child of the Weimar Regiment and probably he whose birthday it was did not lack kindly remembrances When on August 9 the Weimar Regiment passed before the King of Prussia, Goethe preceded it in the Duke's chaise¹ The King rode up and asked in kingly laconic fashion to whom the carriage belonged. Goethe answered in loud clear voice

¹ The Weimar Regiment went first so that Goethe in his chaise led the army of invasion as it moved on to conquer France — *Campagne en Frankreich August 29* — TR

"The Duke of Weimar" Soon after he left the chaise, and mounting the white horse allotted to him, rode on with the van On August 31, outside Verdun he observed in a meadow pond of spring water one of the most attractive phenomena of colour At midnight that day meeting Prince Reuss, whom he had long known, amid the batteries outside Verdun, and being asked what new thing he had on hand, Goethe tells the surprised prince not of tragedies and novels but of his recent researches in Colour Verdun yielded on September 2, 1792, to the second summons, on September 3, the Duke of Weimar's birthday, Goethe and many others rode into the city Goethe sent thence to the dear ones at home by a courier a box of costly sugar-plums, bonbons, and liqueurs

And now the great mistake of delaying in Verdun was made Moreover, the boldness of the King of Prussia, who counselled marching at once on Paris, was overruled by the caution of the Duke of Brunswick, and the army moved down the Aisne laboriously on the deep road until (September 12) it reached Landres opposite Grandpré, where Dumouriez had occupied the heights The rain poured without ceasing, the tents gave but little shelter Still Goethe dictated to *Kanzleisekretär* Vogel an elucidation of the colour-phenomenon observed at Verdun¹ With the aid of the Austrian General Clerfayt, Dumouriez was dislodged, but the army, instead of following him, passed a couple of days in inactivity

When the Weimar Regiment—the van of the army—broke up from Somme Tourbe on September 20, 1792, Goethe accompanied the first squadron, which rapidly pressed on in advance of the rest But the squadron soon received orders to go back and take position in front of the forework La Lune In their wild ride they had crossed the highroad from

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, September 12, 1792 —TR

Chalons to Paris as Goethe saw by a signpost a disquieting reminder that they were between Paris and the French Army This day September 10 1792 was the day of the Cannonade of Valmy The day ended without profit to the allies because the Duke of Brunswick lost the advantage that offered of attacking Kellermann. Goethe desiring to know the peculiar nature of the cannon fever rode in spite of the warnings of officers whom he knew to a point where the balls played around sufficiently, but were less dangerous than at other places because they remained embedded in the wet ground In the night after the cannonade Goethe said — From this place and day begins a new epoch in history and you can say that you have been there¹ In truth remarkable words! He saw that the power of the allies was broken and that the Republic would hurl itself with irresistible rage on Germany The French afterwards dated their calendar from this day

That night the Prussians scooped trenches in the earth and lay in them cloak-enwrept thus reposed the Duke of Weimar and his Minister Goethe On the evening of September 11 the headquarters were removed back to Hins where Goethe was overjoyed to find his little chaise Dumouriez managed to protract negotiations over several days thus detaining the allies under circumstances the worst for them they could not get bread enough, and the weather was fearful On September

7 1792 Goethe writes to Knebel — They begin to think something of the enemy whom heretofore they despised and as is usual in such changes to think more of the enemy than is right Some decision will be shortly known There are only a few ways of emerging from this condition The Duke is right well, so am I though I diminish in stoutness daily as my waistcoats and coats indicate I am after my fashion

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich* — T1

diligent in silence, and think out many things, in *optics* I have made some beautiful advances I am reading French authors whom otherwise I should never have seen, and so I use the time as well as I can If the weather were good all would be different, and many experiments might be tried, and more men seen, but, as it is, one has to spend days without leaving the tent ”

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, September 27, 1792, they were talking seriously in the Duke's tent of the gravity of the situation Goethe, who amid all distress was ever ready with observations grave or gay, felt the impulse to remind them of the Crusade of St Louis On that crusade, when the Christian army was in the most dangerous position and had suffered dreadful losses, the Count de Soissons said smiling to the Sire de Joinville —“Seneschal, let the pack bark and brawl! By God's throne¹ of this day we shall yet speak in the hall with ladies!” After telling this story, which made some smile, Goethe went on to speak of the condition of Attila after his defeat, which had occurred in that very neighbourhood, a condition far worse than that of the Prussian army, and yet Attila had not been destroyed Afterwards Goethe read aloud to the Duke until nearly morning from an amusing French book¹

On September 29, 1792, in the evening, the army of invasion began its retreat Every day was full of weariness and wretchedness Goethe during the first days travelled in the chaise, but at length left it to relieve the four little horses of his weight, but the riding horses were nowhere to be seen, and the poet mounted into a commissariat waggon that came by, the only other occupant of which was a sulky kitchen-maid However, he read in his Gehler and tried to forget her² When, by and by, they came upon the saddle-horses, Goethe in

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, September 27 —TR

² *Ibid.*, October 4, 1792 —TR

mounting vowed that he would not easily again enter on such an expedition. On the evening of this day, October 1, Goethe his companions said was for the first time low spirited and taciturn. He now became very uneasy about the fate of the chaise and his trunk with his portfolio his papers money and clothes.¹ The distress of the regiment came to its height at Consenvoy, where they spent the night of October 7, 179. Goethe describes his grim method of tiring himself into enjoyment of the wet, cold ground as a resting place. On October 8 179 the Duke pitying Goethe's condition offered him the fourth place in an ambulance which was being sent with a couple of invalids to Verdun, Goethe could procure a few days rest in that city. As they drove to Verdun they overtook a little vehicle drawn by four small horses it was Goethe's chaise and in the charge of friends, everything was safe. The good servant had fought through all difficulties. From Verdun on October 10 179, Goethe wrote home to tell of his welfare. But on October 11 they had to set forth again as the Prussians could not hold Verdun. From Luxembourg on October 16 179 Goethe writes to Herder — I for my part sing unto the Lord the merriest psalm of David since He hath delivered me from the mire that went over my soul. When you my dear ones think God in silence for all kinds of unacknowledged benefits forget not to praise Him for having placed you and your best friends in a position where you can not commit follies on a grand scale. I am hurrying to the fleshpots of my mother, there to awake as it were from a bad dream which has held me prisoned between dirt and distress want and anxiety danger and painfulness, corpses carcasses and heaps of ruin. Farewell and know yourselves to be as lucky as you are.

¹ *Cartouche in Frankreich October 6 179* —TR
Iiemers Mittheilungen II 334 —TR

Goethe's hope of a return through Frankfurt was to be disappointed. He arrived in Trier on October 22, 1792. Soon after word reached him that his prediction about the fate of Frankfurt had proved true. After the capture of Mainz by Custine, the French under Newinger had occupied Frankfurt and levied contributions. It was in Trier that Goethe received a letter from his mother, which had been much delayed in transmission, informing him of the death of his uncle Textor on September 19, 1792. His mother went on to say that Goethe had been chosen to fill the Councillor's chair thus vacant, and she was commissioned to inquire whether he was willing to do so¹. But nothing could have been more unlikely than that the poet should give up the well-founded good which he had earned by years of patience and labour in Weimar.

While awaiting in Trier the coming of the Duke, Goethe occupied himself in considering the important reliques of Roman antiquity to be found in Trier, and the monument at Igel near Trier, which dates from the age of the Antonines, and which he had already seen on his journey to the army.² On October 29, 1792, the Duke arrived in Trier, on the following day he entertained a large company at dinner. Goethe was present.

When Goethe saw the sick of the Weimar Regiment being sent, by the kindness of the Duke, down the Moselle in a vessel a desire to travel by water came upon him. He hired a boat and went down the river to Coblenz, there strange memories of former days in the Ehrenbreitstein valley possessed him. At Coblenz he stopped at the post-house in the quarters destined for the Duke of Weimar. Karl

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, October 29, 1792 —TR

² On August 23, 1792 See Goethe's Essay on the monument, Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii 415 —TR

August arrived in the night of November 5 179 but could give only odd hours to his friend As Goethe declined to be a spectator of the operations of war any longer he must sacrifice his desire to revisit his native city round which the war would rage He felt a longing to see Jacobi to rest in the friendly Pempelfort home To avoid the roads thronged with troops the long way from Coblenz to Dusseldorf was traversed in a Rhine skiff Late on a dark winter night he arrived at Pempelfort¹ His unexpected appearance filled Jacobi with joy Though their views in many matters differed—Goethe's conception of art had undergone transfiguration in Italy Jacobi had visited constitutional England—the hearts of the friends who had not met for eight years² found each other again at once Jacobi felt that he must be indulgent towards Goethe who had suffered so much in mind and body during the last few months The gloom of the poet was dispelled by the warm friendliness of the household his heart was more susceptible than ever to the 'blessed family scenes that surrounded him He charmed the attention of young and old by his delightful stories of Italy, on the other hand his *Reise der Söhne Megapra ons* found no response and the experiments in optics which lay so near his heart aroused hardly any interest Beside the half sisters on whom Jacobi's domestic happiness so largely depended, Charlotte whom Goethe had known long ago³ and the austere 'Mother of the Church' ⁴ Helene, and beside Jacobi's son and daughter Goethe met at Pempelfort

¹ Goethe himself in the *Campagne et Fras kreis* gives us no precise date for this visit. But see in Dunzer's *Goeth und Karl August* p 88 the following—Probable arrival in Pempelfort November 11 1792 Three weeks visit brings Goethe's departure to December 1792 Probable arrival in Münster December 4 1792—TR

Jacobi had been in Weimar in September 1784 See vol p 45 —TR ³ Vol p 113 —TR

⁴ Goethe to Jacobi April 17 1793 —TR

the librarian *Hofath* Heinse,¹ who had fled hither from Mainz, and Jacobi's dear house-friend Heinrich Schenk Dusseldorf was visited frequently, and there were important conversations there with Count Nesselrode, with von Dohm the Prussian plenipotentiary at the Court of the Elector of K \ddot{o} ln, and with von Coudenhoven, General in the service of the Elector of Mainz. The wives of the latter two were a charming part of the company. At the Dusseldorf Picture Gallery Goethe's especial endeavour was to thoroughly learn the peculiar merits of the Netherlandish painters. Very anxious about the fate of the Lower Rhine, but very glad in the consciousness of revivified friendship with Jacobi, Goethe after a stay of three weeks left hospitable Pempelfort in Jacobi's heavy travelling-carriage, his own little chaise not having arrived.

After leaving Pempelfort Goethe visited Plessing² in Duisburg. He then spent a very happy week (December 1792) in Munster in the little circle of the Princess Galitzin, who had now been a member of the Catholic Church for six years. She was attracted by the noble mind and heart of the poet, and by the harmony of his being. He was not in the mood to communicate anything from his literary compositions, and could not bring forward the studies in optics, but here as elsewhere his accounts of Italy charmed all hearts. Hemsterhuis, who accompanied the Princess when she visited Weimar in 1785, had died two years before this visit of Goethe's. His beautiful collection of gems was a pleasant starting-point for discursive talk on plastic art. Only with an effort did Goethe tear himself from this circle of gentle and pious people. Beside

¹ Vol 1 p 251 — TR

² Vol 1 p 339 Goethe, in his *Campagne in Frankreich*, here pauses to give an account in detail of his first meeting with Plessing in 1777 — TR

the noble Furstenberg there were many worthy Catholic clergy men and gifted young men striving after the ideal life¹ The Princess herself gave Goethe the Hemsterhuis gems to take with him in order to make a more precise examination of them and she accompanied him to the end of the first stage of his journey²

When after an absence of four months Goethe came one December midnight to his home again there was a wonderful joyous family scene Christiane who loved him with a passionate faithful fondness his boy now almost three years old and his true and anxious friend who had never before been so glad on being awaked from midnight rest were all healthy and happy and to think that he possessed a sure and steady centre of happiness in home whatever changes and storms shook the outer world filled the poet with exquisite joy He found the hall and stairs of his new house well advanced though he is said to have thought the stairs not proportioned to the size of the rooms For the rest the house was still tolerably uninhabitable³ had only emerged from the very roughest stage⁴ thus he had the pleasure of arranging many things himself Only now did he find quiet in which to answer the letter that he had received from his mother in Trier He gratefully declined the honour offered by the Frankfurt citizens⁵ Now too he wrote to excuse himself for having journeyed home direct from Munster

¹ Heranstrebende Junglinge Goethe *Campagni in Frankreich* —TR

In the *Goethes Jahrbücher* for 1881 have been published some letters from the Princess Galitzin to Goethe and from Goethe to the Princess ranging between 1793-1801 —TR

² Ziemlich unwohnbar Goethe to Jacobi December 31 1791 —TR

³ Aus dem rohesten eingerichtet Goethe to Jacobi December 19 1792 —TR

⁴ Goethe to his mother December 4 1791 —TR.

without attempting to see the Duke. During Goethe's absence Heinrich Meyer had drawn and painted a good deal, in some of his work having regard to Goethe's theory of colour.

The theatre, which had so long been without Goethe's oversight, was now his most pressing care, for most of the actors and the *Regisseur* Fischer were to leave at Easter 1793, and, moreover, the Duke, compelled to limit his expenditure as much as possible, could not promise to give a subsidy in 1793, as he had in 1792. Goethe favoured the bringing out of operettas, as they drew audiences best, and he liked them himself. In his scorn for the doings of men at that time he was attracted by the Low German epic *Reineke Fuchs*, that "uncanonical Bible,"¹ which had been long known to him, he felt the impulse to make a free translation into German hexameters, a task which would be good practice in that kind of verse, a verse very suitable for the poem. The union with Herder remained still close and intimate, and with Knebel Goethe was on the best terms. His official activities at this time were—beside the theatre—the building of the Castle, the "Roman House" in the Park (which the Duke begged Goethe to urge on to completion as fast as possible), and the Ilmenau Mines. He also gave special attentiveness to the two Duchesses and the Duke's children. The Duchess Amalia showed great interest in the Hemsterhuis gems.

In spite of all the stress of work Goethe felt very well, and grew, to use Herder's words, "young, corpulent, and round." His "little one," as he called Christiane, was a very careful and diligent housekeeper, his boy grew gaily, Meyer was industrious and sympathetic,² and a bond of deep affection

¹ "Unheiliger Weltbibel" is Goethe's expression, *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1793.—TR

² These things in Goethe's letter to Jacobi, February 1, 1793.—TR

clasped the little group Writing on February 18, 1793 the Duke had asked him to come to Frankfurt in the spring he could thus quite easily be present at the investment of Mainz By the beginning of April 1793 Goethe had made up his mind to go Before departure it was especially necessary to set the affairs of the theatre in order, again as in 1791 a number of new actors had to be drilled The office of *Regisseur* which he had come to dislike, he had now done away with and had instead introduced a so called *Wochner*¹ regularly alternating On April 16 1793 the actor Beck had excited general delight in the part of Schnaps in *Die beiden Billots* an adaptation from the French of Florian Goethe resolved to use Schnaps and the other figures of the comedy in a humorous satire of those swindlers who for their own selfish purposes were smuggling French Freedom Ideas into Germany A carpet bag with Jacobin cap national cockade and uniform, had been picked up on the French frontier by Goethes servant Paul Gotz This carpet bag played its part in the little comedy which Goethe wrote in three days³ *Der Burghereneral* was produced on May 1793 and had tolerable success At this time *Reineke Fuchs* had been examined by Herder and Knebel and only awaited the final touches In April 1793 Goethe to the best of his ability looked after the establishment of Jacobis son Max in Jena University and there visited him Max was always a welcome guest in Goethes house A few days before departure for Frank

¹ From *Wocle* a week Each actor would thus be a *Perisse r* for a week —TR

See the close of the *Ca pame n Frankreich* —TR

³ In Eckemanns *G sprache mit Goethe* February 4 189 Goethe will be found to state a week as the time occupied in writing the *Burg r eneral* But Professor Dnter calls attention to Goethes letter to Herder of June 7 1793 — Von dem Moment in dem ich die erste Idee hatte waren keine drei Tage verstrichen so war es fertig —TR

furt Goethe made a pen-and-ink sketch, a charming indication of his joy in quiet home life. On May 12, 1793, Goethe left Weimar. He took with him his manuscripts relating to optics



FIG. 5 Pen and ink sketch by Goethe. From Schwerdtfeger's *Rathaus Blätter nach Handzeichnungen von Goethe*.

and anatomy, *Reineke Fuchs*, and *Der Bürgergeneral*. His mother, of course, rejoiced to receive her Wolfgang again beneath her roof. Sommering's presence in Frankfurt was a great advantage to Goethe; they had delightful and instructive

talk together on the development of animals As the siege of Mainz proved a slower operation than expected Goethe only left Frankfurt on May 6, 1793¹ for the camp of the Duke at Marienborn. He occupied a spacious tent in the front part of the Weimar Regiment. Here he saw the two Princesses of Mecklenburg (betrothed one to the Crown Prince of Prussia one to Prince Louis) when they visited the camp 'two heavenly apparitions,' he watched them from his tent and did not present himself for introduction, though they had stayed at his mother's house² and had been won to love her.

After carefully observing the state of the Allies before Mainz for some time Goethe felt unhappy. He was impressed with the absence of union and the inadequacy of the measures for reducing the city. He writes to Herder on June 15 1793 — 'My life is very simple. I hardly ever leave my tent now, I correct at *Reneke* and write optical formulæ. I have repeatedly surveyed the situation on our side but have not yet crossed the water except on a delightful party to the Rheingau. We went [on June 9 1793] by water to Rüdesheim explored the vaults went to the Mouse Tower, then to Bingen and back to camp by land. The more wretched he felt in witnessing the destruction of war, the more earnestly did he work at his theory of colour he wrote down parts of it in detail and made a general sketch of the whole. A couple of times he exposed himself to the enemy's fire in the charnel house at Weisenau where he went with Gore and Kraus to look for diseased bones.

¹ Goethe's letter to Jacobi — 'To-morrow I am going to the army is by mistake dated May 6 1793 it should be May 5 1793 Dünzer Goethe und Karl August u. 100 — TR

² Belagerung zu Mainz May 9 1793 — TR

³ In September and October 1790 Dünzer *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jgndzeit* 530 i — TR

in order to pathological study¹ During the negotiations for the surrender of Mainz, Goethe brought his essay on Coloured Shadows to a conclusion On July 24, 1793, at mid-day, the evacuation of Mainz began Goethe, with Kraus and Gore, watched the passing French from the windows of a toll-house that formed part of the quarters of the Duke of Weimar The road was lined with hostile Germans, who lavished taunts and threats on their late invaders On July 25 Goethe rushed from the toll-house, and saved from the mob one who was recognised as the architect "who had plundered the Deanery and then set it on fire" Goethe peremptorily demanded that the peace should be kept in the precincts of the Duke's quarters² Popular justice was indeed always distasteful to him On July 26, 1793, he rode into the desolated city

Immediately after this Goethe begged the Duke for leave to depart, having seen enough of the sights of war In Heidelberg, in the house of his old friend, Fraulein Delph, who eighteen years before had brought about his betrothal with Lili, he met his brother-in-law Johann Georg Schlosser Their intercourse was friendly Goethe observed how tender Schlosser's nature really was for all his austerity In Frankfurt³ he had the pleasure of more of those thorough conversations with Sommering There, probably, he first heard the sad news of the early death of his good friend Moritz⁴

The long-desired wanderer was welcomed in his home with

¹ See in Goethe's *Belagerung von Mainz*, the "Lücke" that follows June 1793, and the entry of July 15, 1793 —TR

² *Belagerung von Mainz*, July 25, 1793 This is another of those remarkable occasions on which Goethe showed extraordinary power of controlling a number of excited human beings See p 30, *footnote* —TR

³ Goethe arrived in Frankfurt about August 10, 1793 Duntzer, *Goethe, und Karl August*, II 116 —TR

⁴ Karl Philipp Moritz (see p 12) died June 26, 1793, in Berlin —TR

passionate joy¹ The Frau Rath had begun to correspond with Christiane Goethe's boy was a source of exquisite delight to him he writes from Marienborn to Jacobi July 7 1793 — ' My boy is a happy existence (*glückliches Wesen*) I hope that with his beautiful eyes he will see much that is good and beautiful in the world. During his absence the new house had advanced towards completion and he found much pleasure in ordering and beautifying it He was not long in gliding back to the old habits of official activity His own private work at this time was the chemical part of the Theory of Colour and the polishing of *Reineke Luchs* He was now the most trusty counsellor that the Duchess had. And the intimacy with the Dowager Duchess continued without break.

But there was ere long a sad disturbance of the quiet pleasantness of things in Weimar On September 6 1793 Prince Constantin whose conduct hid of late justified the best hopes succumbed to dysentery On September 11 the news was known in Weimar Strain all your powers to support my mother wrote the Duke to Goethe On October 11 1793 Goethe writes to Jacobi — In my old capacity of helper in need I have during the time past helped in preparing many kinds of distractions for the Duchess Mother and in doing so have been distracted myself At the Duke's request Goethe had moreover sketched a design for a monument to the officers shot at Mainz it pleased the Duke who only enjoined that its execution should not cost more than 100 ducats

For the opening of the Weimar Theatre in the beginning of October 1793 Goethe did not write a prologue, but he did

¹ The precise date of Goethe's return to Weimar is not known

Spanne alles an um meine Mutter zu unterstützen Karl August to Goethe Pirmasens September 8 1793 — TR

write one for the representation of Goldoni's piece *Der Krieg*¹ The prologue was spoken by the sometime Christiane Neumann, who had lately married the actor Becker It speaks of the blessings of peace, and of the joy which will greet the Duke's return to Weimar

Goethe had now communicated with the Gottingen physicist Lichtenberg, who was friendly at first, being pleased with the poet's exposition of the subjective phenomena of colour Goethe laboured to give the verse in his translation of *Reincke* that “*aisance* and daintiness which it should have”² Towards the close of the year he had to send the translation to the printer, it was to appear as the second part of *Goethes neue Schriften*, *Der Grosskopfta*, with Cagliostro's pedigree, and *Das Romische Karneval* appeared as the first part “In order to undertake something infinite,”² he planned to busy himself in Homer again, Homer would satisfy the yearning for a higher ideal world of art

But soon a domestic sorrow fell upon him On November 22, 1793, Christiane brought forth a daughter, on December 3 the child was taken away Goethe's grief was passionate and lasted long When on December 5, 1793, he writes a few lines to Jacobi, inquiring about an actor's merits, he thus excuses his brevity —“After the New Year I will say more, for the dark season has brought me dark fortunes, we will await the coming back of the sun”

After this he betook himself to Ilmenau, to be present at the meeting of shareholders fixed for December 9, 1793 It was necessary to make the unpleasant communication that from the mine, (which had now been worked since September 2, 1792), and from the foundries there was a poor yield

¹ Goethe's brother-in-law, Vulpius, had made a new adaptation of Goldoni's *La Guerra, commedia di tre atti in prosa* —TR

² Goethe to Jacobi, November 18, 1793 —TR

The meeting was so badly attended that they had to appoint a new one to take place in the spring of 1794.

The return of the Duke on December 15, 1793, was a great joy to Goethe. An oppression was lifted from him too by the Duke's resolve to leave military service, and to devote himself solely to the government of his country. The want of union between the two chief German Powers made success impossible the Duke thought. His decision remained for a time a closely guarded secret. It was not until February 6 1794 that the King of Prussia completed the dismissal of the Duke, with an expression of regret at losing so valuable a general.

In December 1793 Mozart's *Hochzeit des Figaro* (*Le Noce de Figaro*) had been produced on the Weimar stage. On January 13 1794 followed with great success *Die Zauberflöte* (*El Flauto Magico*) and on the birthday of the Duchess Iasiello's *König Teodor in Jena*¹. There was besides no lack of important new plays in the prevalent taste.

In February 1794 Goethe called the Duke's attention to the bad condition of the nursery of young trees and of the botanical arrangements at the Prince's Garden (*Fürstengarten*) of Jena. The Duke ordered minute investigation and a report. Goethe communicated with Professor Batsch (who in 1793 had founded in Jena a society for the study of Natural History naming as honorary members Goethe, Herder and Schiller beside others). Goethe also begged the Duke to appoint a formal commission in order to more effective action and to give him Christian Gottlob Voigt as fellow commissioner. Voigt and Goethe reported in accordance with the opinions of Batsch. But as the Court gardener had a right to the profits of the greater part of the garden

¹ *Il Re Teodoro in Jena* a written by Casti. Cp. Goethe's *Zweiter Romischer Aufenthalt* July 17 1787 and p. 36 of this volume.—Tr.

the commissioners could only procure that Batsch should be given a house and a moderate portion of the upper garden

The theatre (which at Easter 1794 was again to lose a number of its trained actors), the building of the new Castle, the completion of the "Roman House" in the Park, his own scientific labours and many other things, so engaged the poet that he writes—"I am carrying on a regular *Quodlibet* of industry"¹ In concert with Voigt, Goethe dissuaded the Duke from parcelling out his estates, if this were to take place, it would be much more profitable after some time Goethe, to his great regret, was unable to be present at the meeting of shareholders at Ilmenau on April 28, 1794, because of some rebuilding at the back of his house, besides an expected actress had broken her engagement and he was in difficulty about the theatre (In the back part of the house lived Christiane, and with her, we do not know from what date precisely, her sister and an aunt) The shareholders resolved on suitable measures for the improvement of the mine, but a good many withdrew

Shortly before this Heinrich Meyer had gone to Dresden in order to study the gallery, and to make a copy of some important picture for the "Roman House" *Reineke Fuchs* was now in print, it interested even Schiller But it was a much more important matter when Goethe resolved to publish in the following volumes of his *Neue Schriften* a completely revised *Wilhelm Meister* This work, the first six books of which had been completed in a long lapse of years,² and as to the continuing and enrichment of which he had thought and planned so much, still lay upon him as a heavy burthen that he must

¹ Goethe to Sommering, February 17, 1794 See also Goethe to Schiller, December 30, 1795—"Mein Leben ist, diese vier Wochen her, ein solches *Quodlibet*"—TR

² Vol 1 p 432

be free from before he could rise to a new work of significance.

Fichte had lately made himself known as a bold untrammelled thinker and now through the urgent mediation of Christian Gottlob Voigt and with Goethe's approval had been summoned as professor to Jena.¹ On some day later than the middle of May 1794 he called on Goethe who expected a great deal of result from his coming to Jena, but who recommended him to be very prudent. And on June 7 1794 Voss the translator of Homer came to Weimar by Wieland's invitation. Wieland invited Herder and Voss to dinner an invitation of Goethe had been prevented by Voss himself who feared Goethe's ministerial countenance and haughtiness. But Herder and Wieland urged that he must not omit to see the poet who was formal rather than haughty. Goethe recognising the importance of Voss and desiring to learn of the great Homeric the master of hexameter, asked him even before he called to come and dine on June 5. Herder and Wieland were invited also.

The noble house splendid with the statues and paintings of old times' surprised the rector from Iutin. 'We seated ourselves at table and talked of Italy and Greece. I noticed that Goethe often observed me acutely. He grew livelier by degrees. After dinner we moved to his Garden Room and drank coffee. He read letters from the painter Meyer a noble being. Then he showed some of Meyer's pictures enchantingly beautiful. The conversation became very cordial and intimate. Goethe turned to me and asked why I was going away so soon, I might give him one more day. I gave him my hand and promised to stay a day longer. Goethe invited him to come and see the statues and paintings

¹ It was however to Huseland that in the first instance this was due. See Dantzer *Goethe und das Jagdst December 1793* (ii 1 8) — TR

next morning, and to dine in the same companionship That evening Voss went to Herder "We were summoned to tea and found the Wielands, Goethe, Bottiger, and von Knebel All came round me and desired to hear this or that about my researches in Homer" At the general desire Voss read aloud from his new translation of the *Odyssey*, which had not hitherto pleased in Weimar But now, delivered by its author, it had a wonderful effect. Goethe came up to Voss and pressed his hand for such a Homer! At tea Goethe sat beside Voss and was unusually cheerful, the conversation centred in Homer On June 6, 1794, Voss, with Herder and Wieland, spent a happy day at Goethe's In the afternoon Goethe took Voss to the *Fuistenhaus* and showed him paintings, and then introduced him to the Duchess, whom he thought very attractive "Voss has been here," writes Goethe on June 9, 1794, to Meyer, "a right worthy amiable man, and one who is really serious about what he does, for which reason his affairs will not thoroughly prosper in Germany It was a great pleasure to me to have seen him and spoken to him, and to have heard from his own lips the axioms by which he works Thus now through the medium of his personality that is comprehensible which on general grounds we find inharmonious" Voss had spoken very unfavourably of the hexameter of *Reineke*, had indeed condemned altogether the plan of translating the poem in that metre Voss failed to recognise Goethe's purpose, which demanded a light kind of verse That *Reineke* needed a great deal of filing was acknowledged by the author himself, and he would have been glad of detached hints from the master of hexameter, but that condemnation prevented further discussion

Immediately after this visit of Voss, Herder, whose translation of Balde had pleased Goethe, received the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*, "which now as re-written still needs

many a stroke of the pen not to make it good but only that it may, a sort of pseudo-confession, be lifted from my heart and neck To Knebel also a transcript was sent Goethe invited these two friends to dine with him on the coming Sunday June 15 1794

But before that Sunday an incident occurred to which is due the wonderful alliance which gave to Goethe's life and to German literature an impulsion such as no other external fact before or since has given A spirit of equal birth advanced towards him one incapable of underprizing him one thoroughly aware of his incomparable worth On May 15, 1794 Schiller with restored health had returned to Jena from his home whither he had gone last year to recruit He had discussed with Cotta the publishing of a periodical from which he hoped the most extraordinary result Already he had enlisted as co-workers Fichte the historian Wolmann lately summoned to Jena, and Wilhelm von Humboldt when on June 13 1794 he sent the prospectus of the projected review *Die Horen (Horae)* to Goethe accompanied by a request for aid Schiller's personal appeal to Goethe was extremely respectful Goethe replied on June 4 1794 In the interim he had felt the chill of Herder's ethically narrow criticism of *Wilhelm Meister*, and had read with warm interest the first sheets of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* 'I will with joy with my whole heart be of the company' he writes And again — 'A close alliance with such excellent men will certainly bring again into active current and circulation much in me that has fallen into stagnation' He ends by saying that he hopes soon to talk over face to face the principles on which the contributions sent in are to be judged Six days before Goethe wrote this letter Voigt writes to Huseland that in future Goethe will come to Jena more often and make longer stay there, and Goethe, on June

28, 1794, tells Charlotte von Kalb that Schiller since his return has been much more friendly and attached to, and, the *Weimarians*.

Meantime Goethe worked steadily on *Witt's Meister* and at natural science. He made new experiments on colour, and classified them, and already the whole began to seem to him no longer infinite.¹ At this time he suffered a "moral shock" by the "Freedom" vertigo of Knobel, Herder, and Wieland, whose conduct seemed to him to border on insanity. Not until about July 21, 1794 (by which date Herder at 60 had joined the *Du Hoyer* enterprise), did Goethe come to Jena. There he found in a penetrating conversation with Schiller on the Beautiful and on Art intellectual enjoyment such as had been long unknown to him. An unexpected harmony of ideas between them, Schiller tells Körner, had been formed, while there was the greatest difference in their points of view, each had been able to give the other something and receive something in turn. Fichte also was visited by Goethe, the poet set forth the philosopher's own system with a conciseness and clearness such as Fichte himself could not have excelled.

On July 25, 1794, Goethe had to start with the Duke for Dessau. Thence he went on to Leipzig and Dresden; in Dresden he spent a delightful week with Meyer, and derived thorough benefit from his visits to the Gallery.² When back in Weimar Goethe received a remarkable letter³ from Schiller, witnessing the deepest reverence and an ardent longing for closer league together. Goethe wrote a friendly reply from Ettersburg on August 27, 1794. "How great a gain for me your sym-

¹ Goethe to Sommering, July 16, 1794. Duntzer, *Goethe und Körner*, August, II 142.—TR

² Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, September 8, 1794. "Ich war auf acht Tage in Dresden und habe mir auf der Gallerie was rechts zu Gute gethan"—TR

³ Schiller to Goethe, August 23 1794.—TR

pathy will be you will soon perceive when on closer acquaintance you discover in me a kind of obscurity and hesitation that I cannot master, clearly aware as I am of their existence I hope soon to spend some time with you and then we will thoroughly discuss many things Meantime they wrote often to each other letters of mutual confidences The bad news from the Rhine frontier made Goethe anxious His mother had already packed up and sent her belongings to Langensalza Some rooms in her son's house were prepared for her

On September 4 1794 Goethe asks Schiller to come on September 14 and stay with him for a while, as the Court is going to Eisenach Schiller shall be perfectly free to work and live as he pleases In the beginning of September 1794 Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein again after a silence of some years¹ (Of late he had been writing to Fritz who was gone to London) The purport of Goethe's visit was to request Charlotte von Stein to manage with Schiller's help the introduction of a writing desk a gift from Goethe to Charlotte Schiller into the room of the latter while she was away from home

The interval between September 14 and September 7 1794 was passed by Schiller and Goethe in the most intimate exchange of confidence Goethe read the *Romische Elegien* to Schiller talked of many literary plans of contributions to the *Horen* of the nature of poetic composition showed beautiful pictures did not forget his own scientific studies urged Schiller to finish the tragedy *Die Malteser* begun long ago urged him also to retouch *Fiesko* and *Kabale und Liebe* and Goethe's *Egmont* for the stage, entered on the project of establishing a *Musen almanach* and by his genuine good will and cordial frankness won Schiller's entire trust Now when Goethe was happy in his house his family life his true art friend Meyer when

¹ Herr von Stein had died in December 1793 —TR

Herder was following an altogether different aesthetic line, when the French freedom struggle, was alienating many, no better fortune could have been his than the alliance with such a mighty spirit as Schiller, an alliance destined to produce a perfect Art-Poetry, to send forth a quite lyrical hymn of varied form, to idealise German burgher life in its joys, that can never die, to elevate and inspire the German race, to give new solidity and matter to the aesthetic estimate in literature and art.

BOOK VII

THE DIOSCURI

1794—1805



CHAPTER I

THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF UNION WITH SCHILLER. THE
*HOREN—WILHELM MEISTER—HERMANN UND DOROTHEA—
BALLADS THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY*

OCTOBER 1794—NOVEMBER 1797

POETRY, plastic art the theatre natural science, family life the Court official duty still interwove through Goethe's life but now the ever closing union with Schiller was like a fresh stream, whose current directed over dry and unfruitful tracts fills with a new life things that had seemed to languish and brings from the soil many a growth unthought of before Schiller it is true, did not agree with Goethe in everything but he was tolerant and always recognised his greatness as an artist as a man of science as a human soul The rich *Correspondence* that sprang from the friendship is its imperishable memorial

Goethe would have been glad to remain on the old intimate terms with Herder not only because of Herder's own worth but for the sake of the Duke and on account of *Die Horen* cordiality was however rendered impossible by the continual divergence of their views and by Herder's jealousy of Schiller The starting of a new periodical was a severe blow to Wieland for the *Merkur* would certainly be injured But in this matter pacification was easier

About the middle of October 1794 came the welcome return of Heinrich Meyer from Dresden. On November 2, 1794, Goethe went with Meyer to Jena. He had there free use of the rooms on the first story of the Castle, which earlier had been allotted to Knobell. These were the sit t on the left hand looking into the courtyard, and a couple adjoining that now contain part of the collection of mineral. For many years they were to be the hallowed place of his meditation and invention. His simple fare was served to him in them. On this visit in November 1794 there were innumerable conversations with Schiller and the two brothers Humboldt (for Chief Director of Mines (*Oberbergmeister*) Alexander von Humboldt of Freiberg was at this time in Jena). With Schiller *Die Horen* was discussed, and another periodical, *Der Musenalmanach*, which a young bookseller at Neustrelitz had offered to publish on good terms. For the sake of readers who desire amusement, Goethe had it in mind to write a series of tales for *Die Horen* which should be connected by a thread running through them all, these he hoped to contribute beside his *Wilhelm Meister*, whose printing had just begun. The plan of bringing out Schiller's play *Die Mäntseer* on the birthday of the Duchess had to be abandoned, as Schiller was absorbed in other things.

In Weimar the Friday Society had been reopened on October 31, 1794, the meetings were now held weekly in Goethe's house. At each meeting Goethe read a canto from Voss's translation of the *Iliad*, and this would suggest many and various observations. Beside his literary work, he toiled hard at optics, he now had gathered a really valuable stock of apparatus. His zeal for optics was the more ardent because there his intellect found a many-sided exercise such as no other pursuit could afford.

At the Duchess Amalia's he continued to be a frequent and welcome visitor. There he met and was charmed by the

young Maid of Honour Henriette von Wolfskeel Reichenberg who had come last year from Stuttgart She was graceful and



Fig. 6. The young maid of honour Amalia F. maid singing; drawing by J. M. Krafft.

tender she sang with inspiration and played with exquisite finish on the harp Goethe found it pleasant to trifle gaily

with her, he would call the merry little Swabian “*Kehle*”¹, and “*Kchlchen*” and “*Kameradle*” In the year 1830² he recalled the pleasant hours at the Duchess Amalia’s, when the “pretty being the ‘Kehle’ tripped about and said ‘Silly *Geheimnath*,’” he used often then to improvise a tale of some merit We give an engraving of the sketch in colours by Kraus of the evening circle at the Duchess Amalia’s The Duchess is painting, to her left is Charles Gore, who has just been reading aloud, and is looking over his spectacles at the Duchess, then comes Elise Gore, also painting, Emilie Gore, stitching, has looked up at a sketch which Herder is holding before her, and at her side is Fraulein Gochhausen very busy with her sewing On the other side of the table Meyer leans to watch Goethe, who is probably sketching or painting, beyond them is Fraulein Wolfskeel, who seems to be making some saucy remark The figure nearest us is Einsiedel, who is bent over a book

On January 11, 1795, Goethe came with Meyer to Jena, where he stayed until January 23 In this time, beside *Die Horen*, Schiller and he discussed the Third Book of *Wilhelm Meister*, and many matters in æsthetics With Meyer and the two Humboldts Goethe used to wade through deep snow to hear Loder lecture on Syndesmology from eight to ten o’clock in the almost empty Anatomic Theatre³ At the instance of the Humboldts he dictated the *Eirste Entwurf zu einer allgemeinen Einleitung in die allgemeine*

¹ *Kehle* means the throat, then the voice the “pipe” “Sie hat eine herrliche Kehle” would mean—“She has a sweet voice” *Kchlchen* is the diminutive of *Kehle* —TR

² Goethe’s *Unterhaltungen mit Kanzlei von Müller*, March 1, 1830 See the note on the passage —TR

³ In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1794 Goethe misdates this attendance on Loder’s lectures and Gottling’s experiments Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 156 —TR

*Anatomie*¹ He was present at Professor Gottling's experiments on the burning of phosphorus in nitrogen

When back in Weimar Goethe was busily occupied by the theatre and the Court *Redoutes*. Not until Palm Sunday March 29 1795 could he get away for any considerable time. He stayed in Jena until May 1. *Wilhelm Meister* and the contributions for *Die Horen* were the chief subject of conversation. Goethe felt a passing inspiration to higher poetry he wrote the very fine beginning of a *Prometheus Unbound* in the antique style. He had a great deal of intercourse with Batsch Loder, and Gottling. During his stay he had a forcing house erected in the gardens and works to confine the Saale to a straight course among the meadows were urged on. Of the dreary politics of the time Goethe desired to know nothing.

When he returned to Weimar on May 2 1795 he found his family healthy and happy his domestic existence at that time turned quietly on its axis, so that—his intellectual life also being provided for—he had nothing left to desire.² Meyer had been very diligent his design and his execution were better every day Goethe thought.³ For a few days after his return Goethe suffered a good deal from a swollen cheek during the lonely sleepless hours he meditated all his Theory of Colour over and already thought that he could draw the main threads. He worked on at his novel also and minutely revised the *Romische Elegien* which were to appear in the *Horen*. *Claudine* with music by Reichardt was diligently

¹ First Sketch of a General Introduction to General Anatomy. See Hempel's *Goethe* xxiii 189—TR

See Dunters monograph *Prometheus und Pandora* and Dntzer *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte* 1 229. What Goethe wrote has been lost—TR.

² Goethe to Jacobi February 2 1795 —TR

⁴ Goethe to Schiller May 12 1795 —TR

rehearsed, and was performed on May 30, 1795, but without any remarkable success

On a short visit to Jena in the beginning of June 1795, Goethe made the acquaintance of the great Halle philologist Friedrich August Wolf. Wolf was a friend of Wilhelm von Humboldt, through whom we hear how interested Goethe was in Wolf immediately, how attracted by the critical acuteness and the thoroughness of method of the epoch-making *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Immediately upon his return to Weimar (June 4, 1795) Goethe was tormented by a new swelling in his cheek, the great pain and the means of cure resorted to affected him very much, yet he laboured on without ceasing. To fortify his system against the recurrence of these attacks he resolved to visit Karlsbad, where the baths ten years before had done him so much good under like circumstances.

On the journey to Karlsbad Goethe enjoyed a few days of interesting intercourse with Schiller (June 29—July 2). In these days he hit on the idea for the *Märchen* that concludes the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*. Amid bad weather he pushed on to Karlsbad, shortening the way by brooding over some *Märchen* that hovered in his mind. In Karlsbad there was so much society and excitement that he found literary work impossible. It gladdened him to see so many human beings gathered together from all German lands. And with the lovely Marianne Meyer,¹ daughter of a rich Jewish banker in Berlin, he played a little romantic love drama.

¹ Marianne Meyer, afterwards Frau von Eybenberg, was at Karlsbad in the company of Rahel Levin. Her sister, Sara Meyer, afterwards Frau von Grotthus, was also a friend of Goethe's. Both sisters were exquisitely graceful and charming. See Duntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, 82 and 136; Strehlke, *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen*, 1 174, 226, Furst, *Hennicke Herz*, 150 155.—TR

On his return he delayed but a few hours in Jena.¹ Now he heard from Schiller how the Duke thought that the *Romische Elegien* ought not to have been published in the *Horen*. Goethe must have been strangely moved to find the Duke in his letter to Schiller denying to these anxiously wrought and polished poems the most perfect degree of finish and calling the publication of them one of the freaks which should be proscribed by "all those who by the name which destiny has bestowed on them are marked out to be the leaders and forefathers of the literary race." The Duke was annoyed because he had formerly dissuaded Goethe from publishing the *Elegien*. Herder, it will be remembered had opposed their publication at the same time and he too was annoyed and many others who denied the ample poetic right in the matter which Goethe asserted. For the sake of Schiller Goethe now undertook to translate for the *Horen* the greater part of the Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, nay he actually thought of giving Schiller parts of *Faust*.

After his return to Weimar (August 1795) Goethe's first occupation was to arrange the *Venediger Epigramme* for the *Musenalmanach* and to continue *Wilhelm Meister*. Meyer was to go to Italy very soon, Goethe meant to follow in the August of 1796 for he had planned to join with Meyer in the production of a great work on Italy. Starting from a consideration of the peculiar characteristics of the country, they meant to unfold the political and intellectual history of the people and Natural History was not to be omitted.

Now came word that the water had broken out anew at Ilmenau. On August 24 1795 Goethe hastened with Voigt to the unlucky spot where he found an extraordinary quantity of work to be done, especially as Voigt soon had to go back to Weimar. Goethe had brought his five year old August with

¹ About August 10 1795 Dantzer *Goethe un'l Karl August* — TR

him, and very cheering was the companionship of the boy, who observed with fresh childlike interest all that Goethe was tired of looking at and thinking about during the past nineteen years¹ August interested and delighted his father with his naive talk and questions, it was like Felix and Wilhelm Meister A little ideal miner-costume was made for August, and was for a time his ordinary dress On the Duke's birthday (September 3, 1795) August marched with the miners, but he would not enter the church

On September 6, 1795, Goethe returned from Ilmenau to Weimar Beside his *Meister*, the *Märchen*, and other contributions to the *Horen*, he had the preparations for Meyer's journey to Italy and the plan of the work on Italy to consider "Meyer is preparing for departure," writes Goethe to Schiller on September 14, 1795, "and is still engaged on a drawing in colour of the Parcae, which you must see I wish him only health, he has every other good thing He is a noble being As for me, I too, as you probably feel, have of late stood but with one foot, with the other have been moving towards the Alps The mineralogic and geologic basis, the beginning and growth and decay of civilisation, I have sought to attack from below, sometimes going to the bottom of the matter, sometimes treating with a rapid glance, and in my attack from above, too, from the Art side, have a common understanding with Meyer on everything And yet all these are but school preparations May a good spirit help us to see, to understand aright, and bring about a joyful meeting"

On September 23, 1795, Goethe tells Schiller that the *Märchen* is finished Immediately after this very bad news came from the Rhine The fall of Mannheim and the retreat of the Imperial army from the Lahn caused general dismay The Landgraf of Darmstadt came with two hundred horse to

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1795 — TR

Eisenach the French *émigrés*, who had hitherto found refuge in Darmstadt now threatened in invasion of Central Germany¹ already the Elector of Mainz had left his temporary resting place in Aschaffenburg and was expected in Erfurt. Meanwhile to Karl August had come the thought of sending Goethe to Frankfurt for a few weeks that he might report on all occurring in the neighbourhood and on the negotiations for peace there pending. While awaiting more exact instructions as to this very disagreeable task Goethe laboured on *Muster* for which the publisher was eager, and aided in fitting out Meyer the Duke having contributed a hundred thalers to that object. On October 7 1795 when Meyer starts we find Goethe so busy that he cannot go as far as Jena with his friend.

On October 5 1795 Goethe rode to Jena and spent a few hours with Schiller. On October 11 he went to join the Duke at Eisenach. But on October 16 the Duke said that he need not go to Frankfurt retaining him however for a time in Eisenach. What an empty life the life of distraction is he laments to Schiller on October 17 1795. And the complaisance which the Duke and Duchess showed to the French aristocratic refugees had long spoiled the Court for Goethe. On October 21 he hurried back to Weimar fearing that Christiane was about to be prematurely confined.

In Weimar he busied himself with his Italian papers especially those about architecture. In reply to his observation of October 5 that in his house a new citizen of the world was expected to arrive any day Schiller writes — Let it be a girl and thus we shall yet be related as fathers in law. On November 1 1795 Goethe writes — Instead of a pretty girl a tender boy has arrived and thus one of my cares is laid in the cradle. Now it is your business in order to the father

¹ Goethe to Schiller September 6 1795 — TR

in-lawship and the increase of the poetic family, to provide a girl" Four days later Goethe went to Jena and stayed there a week, joining in the celebration of Schiller's birthday He expounded his views on architecture with remarkable clearness to the interested and delighted Schiller, and they talked a great deal of his labours in optics and morphology, which he wished to be done with before his new visit to Italy The thought of Greek literature and art was made so vivid and real by their talk that Schiller resolved to resume the study of Greek Goethe promised a new *Marchen* for the *Horen*, and tried to cheer Schiller, whom the many attacks on his periodical had made downhearted

On November 17, 1795, Goethe's youngest child—his second boy—died An agony of sorrow rent his soul The deep sympathy of Schiller, the friendly reception of the third volume of *Meister* and of the *Marchen*, and the hope of Italy helped this time to lift and sustain his spirit For a short time there was a total ebb of literary inspiration and desire But the anger excited by Friedrich Stolberg's Christian preface to a translation of *Selected Dialogues of Plato*, and again by Lichtenberg's attitude towards his own scientific work¹ had a salutary effect He now read with great pleasure the first part of Schiller's essay *On the Sentimental*, in which he was himself spoken of with great reverence Only towards the close of November did he resume work on *Meister* It now became his chief anxiety to complete this novel And he advanced rapidly, though in December 1795 he lost a great deal of time through the gaiety of life at Court At this time Goethe endeavoured to procure some representations on the Weimar stage from Iffland, but without success The management of the theatre brought so much that was unpleasant on him, that in a moment of disgust he wrote to the Duke begging to be

¹ Goethe to Schiller, November 21, 1795 —Tr

relieved. But the Duke promised to do his best to make matters pleasanter and Goethe consented to go on.

Herder's ill will towards Goethe had now grown so bitter that he would not write to him but procured what he might want of him through Knebel¹. And Wieland's feeling towards the two great allied poets was a very bitter one though they had treated him with marked respect in the *Horen*.

Goethe always planning aid for Schiller's enterprises now hit on a remarkable scheme. Instead of meeting the sharp hostility of the critics of the *Horen* by counter criticism they would make a number of epigrams in the manner of Martial's *Xenia* for insertion in all periodicals and afterwards publish a selection of the best in the *Musenalmanach*. On the 3d of December 1795 we find him sending a few distichs to Schiller, three days later a dozen fresh ones — with a hundred like these we could recommend ourselves to the public as well as to our fellow contributors. Schiller entered enthusiastically into the project, only to complete the century it would be necessary to attack individual works and what a rich material they would have there! Further if they were not particular about sparing themselves they might grapple with things sacred as with things profane. Goethe writes on December 30 1795 — We have only to put into verse what the fools say about us and so be sheltered beneath the form of irony. Thus before the close of the year 1795 the tribunal was established by which the two poets working in fellowship purified the atmosphere before proceeding to their greater creations. The gradual development of the *Lemmen* is a remarkable story.

Meyer was now in Rome his communications thence were

¹ See Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August* i 175 178. See also Knebel's and Goethe's correspondence in the three last months of 1795 — TR.

giving Goethe a great deal of pleasure "We will pursue our way very quietly but very obstinately," Goethe writes to Meyer on December 30, 1795 Meyer was to him in art what Schiller was in literature

In the beginning of the New Year 1796 he succeeded in getting away to spend with Schiller a couple of happy weeks (January 3-14), during which he ran through the whole circle of Schiller's labours in the theory of æsthetics, thus fortifying himself for his own work in science The theatre and the preparation of a masque for the Duchess's birthday *Redoute* hastened his return to Weimar He found the distraction very trying On February 12, 1796, three days after Shrove Tuesday, he writes to Schiller—"I am still suffering indescribably by the Carnival"—being the master of ceremonies—"by the repeated arrival of foreign princes our theatrical and dancing merry-makings are confused and increased" The partiality of the Court for the exiles, to whom the Duke had now opened the whole land, grew more and more displeasing to Goethe He clung closer than ever to Schiller, who was sorely tortured just then with spasms Goethe spent the interval from February 16 to March 16 in Jena During that time *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* and plastic art were zealously discussed But the most important thing to note of this visit is that Goethe urged Schiller earnestly to go to work on *Wallenstein*, and the latter began to devote his best time to the play Charlotte von Stein came one day to Jena and visited the Schillers (February 24), she wrote to Fritz afterwards that Goethe has become "horribly stout," "has regularly become earth," while the invalid Schiller looked "like a heavenly genius," "the pallid repose of his countenance made him interesting"

After Goethe's return to Weimar he drew near to Wieland for a time, aiding him to revise *Oberon* Iffland had at last found it possible to promise a series of representations in

Weimar In order to be present at these the Schillers came from Jena on March 3 1796 to spend a few weeks — Schiller with Goethe Charlotte Schiller and her two-year old boy Karl with Charlotte von Stein During their stay Goethe's August as Karl's playmate used often to go to Charlotte von Stein's house She was interested in him I can often see writes to Fritz Stein, ' distinguish in him the more noble nature of the father and the baser of the mother The Weimar theatre had no boxes Goethe had one erected for the sufferer Schiller who was then brought thither in a carriage A certain number of the assemblies at Goethe's house during Iffland's stay were invited in Schiller's name The great actor appeared in Schiller's *Die Räuber* on April 16 1796 As Goethe wished to see him in *Egmont* also, Schiller had been employed in preparing that play for representation, which was done with relentless mangling¹ Iffland's very conscientious and finished presentation of the hero pleased Goethe so well that he resolved never to entrust the part to any other actor He offered the managership of the theatre to Iffland who refused saying however that on certain conditions he would accept the post of *Regisseur* Goethe, writing about April 18 1796 tells Meyer that Iffland has ' brought to life again the almost lost conception of dramatic art *Egmont* gave such pleasure to the enthusiastic Charlotte von Kalb that she could not help expressing her warmest gratitude to the poet Such an instance of fresh ardent friendly sympathy would be the more precious to Goethe as the Court, devoted to its *émigrés* was then rather cold towards him

On May 3 1796 Goethe hurried to Jena where he hoped to finish *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* in peace He found there Schiller's friend Christian Korner and his family on a

¹ *Ueber das Deutsche Theater* Hempel's Goeth xxvi: 719 — TR
See Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August* i: 182 — TR

visit to Schiller. Goethe had pleasant intercourse with them. When Korner's sister-in-law, the painter, Dora Stock, casually asked him why he did not marry, he replied gravely that he *was* married, only not ceremonially. And perhaps with this incident we are to connect his bringing Christiane and August once to Jena during his stay there. Some weeks later, on July 13, 1796, he writes to Schiller "To-day, I too live to see a remarkable epoch, my marriage-state is just eight years and the French Revolution seven years old." In the same letter he excuses his non-appearance at the christening of Schiller's second son by saying that these ceremonies depress him too much.

Wishing to contribute to the *Musenalmanach* some more worthy offering than the stinging rhymes of the *Xenien*, he brooded over lyric poems of the most various kind, for his creative energy continually craved new forms and new notes. The noble idyll *Alexis und Dora* was finished in a few days. The delicious parody *Musen und Grazien in der Mark* was another product of this time, beside a number of earnest and tender *Sprüche*. The project of writing a ballad *Hero und Leander* was not carried out. Goethe was also during this visit to Jena very busy with science, particularly optics, and even with many official duties. At length he had to set hard to work at *Wilhelm Meister*, which progressed so well that he stayed on in Jena. For the passage of the French over the Mincio had put an end to the delightful hope of seeing Italy again in August¹. One whom Goethe now met for the first time was August Wilhelm Schlegel. Goethe tells Meyer that Schlegel is with them as to the fundamental ideas of æsthetics, is a very good head, awake and active and skilful, only he seems to have a democratic tendency². During the prolonga-

¹ Cp Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, June 12, 1796 —Tr

² Goethe to Meyer, Jena, May 20, 1796 —Tr

tion of his stay Goethe was cheered by the presence of his little August who used to play in the Castle courtyard beneath his father's windows with the daughter of the University *Stallmeister*. This little girl born in Jena, May 15, 1786 was Luise Seidler, afterwards a well known painter. From her we learn¹ with what infinite love the poet hung on every act and word of the beautiful little fellow in the charmingly becoming minor-costume. Father and son used to feed the pigeons together, and when the two children were plying beneath the window Goethe would lean out and let some sweetmeat dangle by a string to the children and when at length they succeeded in capturing it he would laugh heartily.

When Goethe returned to Weimar he laboured steadily at *Wilhelm Meister* his studies in science held on a parallel course and there were *Sprüche* of many kinds composed. It was a great relief that the Court was at Wilhelmsthal for this gave him complete leisure as the Duchess Amalia who was stopping in Tiefurt did not require any attendance from him.

On June 17 1796 Goethe met Jean Paul for the first time. Jean Paul had come to Weimar at the urgent invitation of Charlotte von Kalb who was one of his most enthusiastic admirers. Knebel conducted him to Goethe with whom he dined twice during his stay. Goethe writes to Schiller on June 29 1796 — I am glad that you have seen Richter his love of truth and his desire to learn have made me feel well towards him. Yet the sociable man is a kind of theoretic man and if I judge aright I doubt that in the practical sense Richter will ever draw near to us though

¹ See the delightful book *Erinnerungen und Bilder der Malerin Luise Seidler* by Carl Detton Herman. Ullde Berlin Wilhelm Hertz (2d Edition 1875) — TR. On June 7 or June 8 1796 — TR

in the theoretic he inclines much to our way.' On Jan. 26, 1796, Goethe sent *the last Book of Werther's Master* to Schiller.¹ During the ten or twelve days following, he had so much business to overtake that he could hardly leave the house. Yet he managed to think over the ballad *Hermann und Leander*. And a material that some year ago had attracted him now began to seem very well suited for treatment in a form hitherto untried by him—the Burgher Layll. Any one who reads the letters of Goethe and Schiller of this period will be struck by the wonderful earnestness and thoroughness with which the last book of *Werther* is analysed. Schiller's criticism induced many changes, not always, indeed, improvements. The several hints at a sequel were thus inserted. As the Schillers were expecting the birth of a child, Goethe pressed them (July 9, 1796) to send Karl to Weimar for a while. August would have a welcome playmate, and Karl would be very happy in the companionship of many children who assembled in Goethe's house and garden. Evidently he wanted to see Schiller put away his prejudice against the household of which Christiane was mistress. But Schiller politely refused the invitation.

On Monday, July 11, 1796, Charlotte Schiller bore her second son.¹ At the end of the week Goethe came to Jena and stayed for a few days. He returned to Weimar on the 19th of July.

Very bad news from the seat of war now filled Goethe with anxiety. After a violent bombardment, Frankfurt-am-Main had fallen into French hands, and had been laid under heavy contributions. The only hope of Thuringen now lay in a cordon of neutrality. The treaty between the Electorate of Saxony and the French securing this was concluded success-

¹ The child was christened on Thursday. Goethe would not go to Jena for the christening. See p. 144—TR.

fully on August 13 1796 In the meantime Goethe tried to forget political troubles in natural science and in the final revision of the last book of *Wilhelm Meister*—tried too to quiet the longing for Italy Meyer had gone to Florence and there Goethe hoped to meet him next spring¹ An arrogant remark of Jean Paul's in a letter to Knebel prompted Goethe to the satirical lines *Der Chines in Rom* no one then guessed that these lines referred to the poet from Hof At this time Goethe was much worried by Iffland's indecision

But now on August 18, 1796 began a wonderful six weeks of happiness in Jena by Schiller's side During this time the first four cantos (afterwards moulded to five) of *Hermann und Dorothea*—the projected idyll that had widened to an epos—were composed in nine days Every evening what had been written during the day was read aloud at Schiller's and was received with warm delight by worthy hearers Goethe who was in the most exalted mood would shed tears of joy when he came to passages of genuine poetic beauty² Yet even in Jena all kinds of business sought him out But the affairs of the theatre alone had power to annoy him This was not merely because of Iffland's conduct but because the Duke did not approve of offering to Iffland the post designed for him by Goethe Goethe still continued to wish that Iffland would undertake the entire management of the theatre He writes in his excitement — For all our efforts we have neither from above nor below a shadow of gratitude to expect, and in the main I daily perceive more

¹ Goethe to Meyer August 1 1796 In the *Goethe Jahrbücher* for 1882 are published four of Goethe's letters to Heinrich Meyer ranging from July to September 1796 One of them had been published in fragment by Riemer whose omissions as Ludwig Geiger observes are unaccountable —Tr

² Goethe to Schiller August 10 1796 —Tr

³ See Duntzer *Schiller und Goethe* S 98 —Tr

clearly that the relation, for me especially, is thoroughly unbecoming"¹

On October 3, 1796, he was summoned to Weimar, the exhibition of the pictures of the Drawing Academy was nearly at an end, and the Duke wished for his presence at the distribution of prizes. And he accordingly returned on October 5, 1796. The cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* that had been written in Jena were now carefully revised. His other chief occupation for a time was Natural Science, the subject of most of the lectures that he delivered at the Friday Assemblies, which recommenced then. All hope of Iffland was gone, the National Theatre at Berlin had secured him.

At the end of October 1796 Goethe had suddenly to go to Ilmenau, the water having broken out afresh in the mines on the night of October 24. He took with him his little August, who had lately been making a great friend of Charlotte von Stein. (She tells her Fritz that August is a very sensible (*besonnenes*) child, though there is something dreary about him.) At Ilmenau Goethe remained, notwithstanding wretched weather, until all needful measures were taken. During his stay he was again attracted to the mineral kingdom by the mineral cabinet of *Berngrath* Voigt,² but he wrote no poetry, although he had hoped some gain in the "great solitude" for *Hermann und Dorothea*.³

After his return he was detained in Weimar by various kinds of business, the most onerous being the affairs of the theatre, where the *Regie*⁴ was now rearranged. The study of

¹ Goethe to Kirms, Jena, September 6, 1796 —TR

² The brother of the Minister, Christian Gottlob von Voigt. See vol. I pp. 338, 388, 391, and 419 —TR

³ Goethe to Schiller, October 29, 1796 (before departure for Ilmenau), November 12, 1796 (very soon after return to Weimar). Goethe did not see Ilmenau again until August 1813 —TR

⁴ The function of the *Regisseur* —TR

Natural Science continued its unceasing course. And the polishing and perfecting of the written cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* still occupied him. All to whom he read this poem were moved and charmed even Bottiger in whose criticism he felt secure that emotion would not overrule judgment¹.

This success of his epic already among his friends was a keen pleasure to Goethe. Meanwhile the *Aenien* had roused against the two poets a swarm of enemies many of whom did not hesitate to use coarse and unjustifiable means of attack. This moved Goethe to the Elegy called *Hermann und Dorothea* announcing the appearance of the epic *Hermann und Dorothea*. The Elegy is a poem of dignified vindication of his own life and works and in it he does not shrink from speaking of that domestic happiness which slanderers had tried to blemish. He sent it to Schiller on December 7 1796 he would like the new year of the *Horen* to open with it. Schiller however dissuaded him from this fearing that to publish it so soon would draw fresh personal attacks. It was Goethe's design as he tells Schiller in the letter of the above date to begin with this poem a new Book of Elegies the second of the series should utter his longing to cross the Alps a third time and thus he would continue either at home or on his journey Schiller had now to Goethe's delight flung himself upon *Wallenstein*, and several scenes were already finished.

On December 8 1796 Goethe started with the Duke for Leipzig to be present at the New Year Fair. Schiller had just been roused to great anger by an attack of Reichardts, who referring to the *Aenien* wrote in the periodical *Deutschland* of which he was editor to this effect — That it was sad to see such a great genius as Goethe so profane his greatness by descending to take part in deliberate calumny. On the other hand, the part which Herr Schiller might have in the matter

¹ Goethe to Jcob December 6 1796 (footn 1) —Tr

could trouble the editor of *Deutschland* very little, his contempt for Schiller's worthless and base conduct being quite unmixed, as Schiller's literary gifts and exertions were by no means to be classed with the genuine genius of that other" Goethe promised Schiller a "counter-manifesto"¹ The visit to Leipzig refreshed Goethe "There were some very interesting persons amid the throng, old friends and acquaintances too I have seen again,² beside some noble works of art which have washed my eyes clear"³ From Leipzig they went to Dessau, where they stopped a week that the Duke might enjoy the hunting Though the Prince of Dessau⁴ had been annoyed with Goethe on account of the attacks on Lavater in the *Xemen*, there was friendly intercourse Goethe returned to Weimar on January 10, 1797, well content with his journey, which had been without literary fruit except that he had completely schemed the conclusion of *Hermann und Dorothea*⁵

Soon after his return Goethe spent a day in Jena, the "manifesto" against Reichardt was discussed and all that was near to the hearts of the two poets There was a cordial meeting with the two Humboldts also After this the Theatre made extraordinary demands on his time and thought He had the fortune to secure for it a perfectly endowed singer in Caroline Jagemann, who was then just completing her twentieth year Her father was Librarian to the Duchess Amalia, through whose kindness she had been sent to Mannheim for training Another important business matter concluded by

¹ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797 —TR

² The old Oeser was still living, Goethe probably visited him, and probably, too, his old friend, Christian Gottfried Hermann (vol 1 p 79), we know that he visited Christian Felix Weisse (vol 1 p 89) Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 205 —TR

³ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797 —TR

⁴ See vol 1 p 453 —TR

⁵ Goethe to Schiller, January 11, 1797 —TR

Goethe during the latter half of January 1797 was the sale of *Hermann und Dorothea* to the publisher Vieweg. Goethe gave a sealed cover to Bottiger containing this declaration — ‘For the epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* I demand one thousand thalers in gold. Bottiger was not to open this was not to know the sum demanded until some publisher should agree to the purchase whatever the sum might be. Vieweg at once accepted the condition. On January 2 1797, Charlotte von Stein (who though she and little August were good friends had not yet forgiven August's father) once more entered Goethe's house — she dined there with the Duke's children her own sister and her sister's children and some others. Goethe had invited the Duchess Luise to come in the evening. The Court had grown friendly again.

On February 1 1797 began a stay of more than five weeks in Jena five weeks of the most earnest most many-sided most fruitful activity. By March 1 1797 not only was the former portion of *Hermann und Dorothea* revised anew but all the rest of it written except the concluding speech. Schiller who watched the progress of this poem with intense interest was himself busy on *Wallenstein* and was reading in Shakespeare and Sophocles and thus all the ideas about epic and dramatic poetry came to be eagerly discussed. One result was that Goethe planned a second epic poem of an altogether different character he chose for it a material that he had long ago thought of only the suitable form had hitherto been lacking. He writes to Knebel on March 8 1797 — ‘Schiller is hard at work on *Wallenstein* the elder Humboldt is at a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus the elder Schlegel at one of the *Julius Caesar* of Shakespeare and thus—while I have [on account of *Hermann und Dorothea*] reason to meditate the nature of the Epic Poem—I am led [by sympathy with friends] to be attentive also to Tragedy.

whereby many remarkable relations come to be discussed. Besides, the presence of the younger Humboldt—sufficient in itself to fill a whole life with interest—brings into activity all [in me] that can only be of importance with regard to Chemistry or Physics or Physiology, so that I often find it very hard to return to my circle. If you only add that Fichte begins to publish in the *Philosophical Journal* a new exposition of his theory of the sciences, and that when I live amid a set of people of speculative tendencies I cannot avoid taking at least a general interest in this, you will easily perceive that it is often hard to tell where one's head is, particularly when rich suppers shorten the night and do not favour the moderation so needful for studies." Plastic art alone was absent from their discussions, though not absent from Goethe's thoughts, he often longed to be with Meyer in Italy, to find new life and refreshing in the contemplation of the many glorious forms¹

On March 31, 1797, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by the brothers von Humboldt. With both he had a great deal of intercourse, and with Wilhelm von Humboldt held a prosodic court of justice on the later cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea*². On Easter Monday, April 17, 1797, the first four cantos went to the printer. Already he was attracted by a third perfectly different subject, the Journey of the Children of Israel in the Desert. He studied the Books of Moses to discriminate the original tradition of this journey from later additions³. Writing on April 19, 1797, he tells Schiller that he is studying the Bible and Homer, and while so doing the most wonderful light has dawned on him as to the nature of epos. Thus he was again

¹ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 18, 1797—Tr.

² Goethe to Schiller, April 8, 1797—Tr.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 12, April 15, 1797—Tr.

brought to consider his second epic poem¹ and he sketched its plot. In the last week of April 1797 came news of the conclusion of peace which calmed and cheered him notwithstanding the heavy sacrifices that bought the peace. He felt very happy in his home affairs. His little August² was now being taught by a certain young Eissert under the superintendence of Professor Kastner.³ His only source of anxiety was news that Meyer was in bad health. He writes to Meyer on May 8 1797 that he Goethe will probably go to Frankfurt in July and will probably go thence to Italy. He therefore begs Meyer to stay where he is but if he must return to Switzerland for the sake of his health let him write to Goethe where to meet him. On the 19th or 20th of May 1797⁴ Goethe hastened to Jena hoping that there the poetic mood would return and enable him to complete his epic. The four weeks then spent in communion with Schiller are memorable in the history of German Literature. *Hermann und Dorothea* was perfected and in the finest of all rivalries the two great poets produced a whole group of noble poems. The most important among these poems were ballads and it was Goethe who first led Schiller to this kind of poetry.⁵

On June 16 1797 Goethe returned to Weimar suddenly.

¹ This poem *Der Jäger* was never written. See Eckermann January 15 18 29 18 7 —TR

See the elegiac poem *Der sei Pausias und s in Blumenmadchen* which was probably in hand by this time —TR

² Goethe to Fritz Stein April 26 1797 —TR

³ See Duntzer *Goth und Karl August* 15 (top and foot note) —TR

During the four weeks May 19—June 16 1797 Goethe completed *Der neue Paß* wrote the ballads *Der Schatzgräber* (May 1 3) *Die Braut von Korinth* (June 4 6) *Der Gott und die Bajadere* (June 7 9) the lyric *At Ueber* (Ueber Thal und Fluss getragen). See Goethe's letters to Schiller during this period and *Goethes lyrische Gedichte Erläuterter Hr. h. Dieter Band S. 4 45* Schiller's first ballad *Der Taucher* was begun June 5 finished June 14 1797 —TR

He then spent a restless, unsatisfactory time. The Duke had written on June 13 begging that Goethe would await his return, which could not take place before the beginning of July. And Goethe had not made up his mind whether his own projected journey should be a long or short one. At length, on July 7, 1797, came a letter with the welcome news from Meyer that he had returned to his home in Switzerland. Goethe writes to Meyer on July 7 that it does not matter about that plan of theirs "Care only for your health, and arrange what you have collected according to your own pleasure. I am going immediately to Frankfurt *with my family to introduce them to my mother*, and after a short stay I will send them home and come to seek you on the shore of the beautiful lake."

Meanwhile Goethe, after "attacking many things and doing nothing,"¹ had made up his mind to grapple with the greatest of his unfinished labours, with *Faust*.² On July 1 he tells Schiller that he has advanced with good speed as to the scheme and general oversight of the poem. But his Roman friend, Aloys Hirt, who had been summoned to a professorship in Berlin, arrived in Weimar just then, and *Faust* was laid aside for a time, "the northern phantoms have been driven back by memories of the south."³ Hirt led Goethe's thoughts to architecture, and discussion of an essay of Hirt's on the *Laokoon* caused Goethe to put together his old thoughts on the group.⁴ By Goethe's urgent invitation Schiller came to Weimar (July 11-18), and the friends talked over all that was near to their hearts, and besides had a great deal of intercourse with Hirt and Bottiger.⁵

¹ Goethe to Schiller, June 21, 1797 —TR

² Goethe to Schiller, June 22, 1797 —TR

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 5, 1797 —TR

⁴ On July 14, 1797, Goethe sends Meyer an essay on the *Laokoon*. And see vol. 1 p. 157 —TR

⁵ Goethe had it in mind at the time to write a ballad on *The Cranes*.

At this time Goethe entertained the design of getting a more becoming theatre substituted for the miserable structure of wood at Lauchstedt. The first thing needful was the permission of the Elector of Saxony, in whose territory Lauchstedt was situated. The hopeless condition of his beloved actress Christiane Becker grieved him, she was now plainly in consumption her acting must cease for ever. Schiller had been gone a week when the Duke at length on July 25 1797 arrived in Weimar¹. Goethe had many things to discuss with him, the chief perhaps, the building of the new castle. So it was not until the fifth day (July 30) from the Duke's arrival that he started with Christiane and August for his native city.

When after four days spent on the way they arrived in Frankfurt the Frau Rath greeted with a very joyous welcome her Wolf her daughter in law and her grandson. All Goethe's friends, older and younger, were very glad to see him. During his stay he paid remarkable attention to the theatre to the inner circumstances of his mother city and to the prevailing public feeling. Before leaving Frankfurt he renounced the journey to Italy, the political condition of that country just then was hateful to him³.

f Ibycus So we have seen him daily with the subject *Hero and Leander* and soon we shall find him struck with the legend of *William Tell* — TR

¹ Marianne Meyer came to Weimar about this time. Goethe in a letter to Schiller (July 26 1797) regrets that she had not come a few days earlier — I should have liked you to know this singular being — TR

² For the history of the following journey see in Goethe's Works — *Als einer kehrt in die Schweiz im Jahre 1797*. Before starting Goethe burnt the letters of the last twenty years (*Tag und Jahres II für 1797*) only excepting those that came from his most intimate friends Duntzer *Goethe d' Karl At gutt n. 21* — TR

³ On August 10 he writes to Knebel — I have no desire towards Italy I do not wish to observe the caterpillars and chrysalids of freedom I had far rather see the French butterflies — TR

On August 25, 1797, he took leave of his mother, whom he never saw again. He travelled by Heidelberg, Heilbronn, and Ludwigsburg, and arrived in Stuttgart on August 29, 1797. He stayed there nine days, chiefly occupied with the theatre and with plastic art. With the young professor, Nikolaus von Thouret, Goethe thoroughly discussed the subject of ornament in relation to castles, having the new castle at Weimar in his mind. He sent to the Duke reports which enter minutely into detail, and evidence the most exact and many-sided observation. On August 31, 1797, he tells Schiller that he has thought of a new *genre* of poetry, *Conversations in Lyrics*¹. On the 7th of September Goethe left Stuttgart and came to Tübingen, where he stayed until the 16th. On the evening of September 17 he arrived at Schaffhausen. The Rhine Falls were studied with great reverence and care.² To Schiller, from Stafa on September 25, 1797, Goethe writes — “I had almost forgotten to say that the line — ‘*es wallet und siedet, und brauset, und zuscht*’ [from Schiller’s ballad *Der Taucher*] has at the Rhine Falls signally proved its rightness”³. On September 19, 1797, an ivy-entwined apple-tree on the way from Schaffhausen to Jestetten originated in Goethe’s mind the elegy *Amyntas*. Goethe arrived in Zurich on the evening of September 19, and went to the inn by the lake which he had known so long, he visited no one in Zurich. In the afternoon

¹ During his journey Goethe composed three poems which are specimens of this *genre*. *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin*, *Der Junggesell und der Mühlbach*, and *Der Müllerin Reue* — TR.

² See Goethe’s *Reise in die Schweiz*, September 18, 1797 — TR.

³ Schiller replies on October 6, 1797 — “It is no small delight that, according to your observation, my description of the whirlpool agrees with the phenomenon. I have never had the power of studying this manifestation of Nature except in the water near a mill, but I have studied Homer’s description of Charybdis minutely, and this has perhaps kept me true to reality” — TR.

of September o Meyer came and on the following day Goethe and Meyer sailed in bright pleasant weather up the lake to Stafa, Meyer's home. Here Goethe spent some days examining his friend's collections which gave occasion to the most searching talk upon the current rhetorical style of books of travel and on the necessity of fixing some terminology for describing works of art. On September 8 1797 Goethe set out in Meyer's company on a short tour through the mountains. The grand impression which the scenery of the Lake of the Four Forest Cantons had made in former years¹ was renewed. The Hospice on the Gotthard Pass was the turning point of the excursion which terminated with their return to Stafa on October 8. It was a time of immense happiness disturbed only by the sad news that Christiane Becker of whom Goethe had been so proud and fond had died on September - 1797. His grief was not the less deep because her death had been long expected. He afterwards wrought out a noble elegy in honour of her memory.

Meanwhile *Hermann und Dorothea* had been published and had charmed all readers as nothing of Goethe's had done since the appearance of *Werther* in 1774, for like *Werther* it was a perfect work of art. And now Goethe had found a new epic material on this his third and last Swiss journey, the fine popular legend of Wilhelm Tell was eagerly studied and carefully considered during his stay in Stafa after the excursion in the Lesser Cantons. At length the case arrived

¹ Goethe had seen Luzern Lake twice before with Passavant in June 1775 and with the Duke in November 1779. See vol 1 pp 90 379 (*f ootnot e*) —TR.

² To explain the popularity of a poem we must not however look to its perfection as a work of art. The people Goethe himself testifies look always to matter not to form in literature. *Werther* was popular because of its subject rather than because of the treatment. *Iphigene* perfect also was unpopular because of its subject —TR.

which contained Meyer's copy of the celebrated painting, the Aldobrandini Marriage. Thus all Meyer's treasures were safe gathered together, and on October 21, 1797, our remarkable party of friends could set out on their journey to Weimar,¹ where, in alliance with Schiller, they would devote themselves to the pure service of true Art. In the old German city of Nurnberg they lingered nine days (November 6-15). At midday on November 20 they arrived in Jena, and spent a few hours with Schiller, who, to Goethe's joy, had made up his mind to spend the winter in Weimar, hoping profit for his *Wallenstein* in daily familiarity with the theatre. On the evening of the same day the house in the *Frauenplan* was the witness of a very loving and joyful welcome.

¹ On their return they stayed a few days (October 22-25) in Zurich. Goethe did not visit Lavater. On February 17, 1829, he tells Eckermann that he had first seen Lavater when in Zurich. Lavater had not recognised him, because he was in disguise. This was probably in September 1797.—TR

CHAPTER II

FROM THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY TO THE DANGEROUS ILLNESS
OF 1801—A TIME OF GREAT LABOUR IN UNION WITH
SCHILLER, FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE THEATRE AND OF
THE CONCEPTION OF ART IN GERMANY

NOVEMBER 1797—JANUARY 1801

FOR some time after his return from Switzerland Goethe found it impossible to labour steadily at anything. One cause of this was the after excitement of the journey, a second was that familiar cause—excess of business. The old enumeration will serve—there was the theatre (now really getting on well) the *Redoutes* the building of the castle and new improvements in the park. He was occupied with plans of all kinds one being an epic poem on the Death of Achilles but none of them was carried out and his only important systematic labour during this winter was the exposition of the Theory of Colour and of its history in which he was encouraged by the earnest sympathy of Meyer and Schiller. For the birthday *Redoute* of the Duchess (Jan 6) he arranged a masquerade on the apposite theme Peace six young ladies and six children had to be suitably equipped and trained. Fraulein Wolfskeel who represented Peace spoke the noble expository stanzas written by Goethe¹. Schiller had on

¹ See Hempel's *G V* xi 99—Tr

account of his health, to put off until March his coming to Weimar

Towards the end of February 1798 Goethe received into his charge the library of Jena and the ducal collection of coins, *Gehemerath* Schnauss, their former keeper, having died in December 1797. Goethe now succeeded in having Thouret summoned to superintend the building of the castle. During his Swiss journey they had, to his annoyance, applied to a Leipzig architect Meyer was working hard in setting forth their views on plastic art¹

In the early part of March 1798 Goethe was kept in great anxiety for a time by a purchase of some property that he had had in mind since last year. The place was a freehold property (*Freigut*) at the friendly parochial village Oberrossla, on the right bank of the Ilm. It was about a league from Osmannstedt, where Wieland had taken up his abode in April 1797, in a manor property (*Rittergut*) that he had bought². Goethe concluded his purchase on March 10, 1798, the price was 14,000 thalers, of which 6000 were to be paid down. He had not seen the property himself, and probably depended on the judgment of his faithful Seidel, who, as district-steward of finance (*Rentamtmann*), would know the circumstances minutely. When Goethe visited Oberrossla on March 11 he saw that he had made a pretty good purchase, though the price seemed too high considering the yield of the place hitherto. But what Goethe really wanted was a pleasant country residence for himself and his family. This incident was a fine opportunity for Weimar gossip. Some said, part of the money he has from his writings, part from his mother, others said, the price was too high, he has been compelled to this purchase because through his relation to Christiane his

¹ Goethe to Schiller, March 3, 1798 —TR

² See on this Goethe's letter to Schiller, June 21, 1797 —TR

social position is so unpleasant.¹ Precisely at this time however Goethe began to receive in Weimar and though he felt how unseemly it was that his wife could not be the hostess in his house he managed matters so that his guests were at their ease. On the evening of February 10 1798 he had a party to meet the Swedish Secretary of Legation von Brinkmann who was known as a German poet. Von Brinkmann was seated with Frau von Wolzogen on one side and on the other Amalia von Imhof a lady gifted both as poet and artist.

Not until March 18 did Goethe find it possible to leave Weimar. He stayed three weeks in Jena. The first three acts of *Wallenstein* were read to him he thought them excellent in some passages astonishing still to make the play fit for the limited German stage a cruel shears must work upon it Schroder as the hero would be Goethe thought the noblest possibility of a German theatre His own two epic plans² were talked over with Schiller And for the *Musen almanach* the *Weissagungen des Balis* intended to excite the curiosity of a riddle loving world were begun⁴ while the elegy on Christiane Becker was considered. Goethe wished moreover to have a monument erected to her memory,⁵ to be paid for by voluntary contributions and by the proceeds of a representation at the theatre As for the work on Art that Goethe and Meyer had planned Schiller too thought of taking part in it. It should consist of detached treatises on Art issued in four small octavo volumes and

¹ See Dörnitz *Goetz und Karl At last* II 43 —TR.

See all this about *Wallenstein* in Goethe's letter to Heinrich Meyer Jena March 3 1798 —TR.

² A *Wielm Tell* and an *Achill* —TR

⁴ Riemer *Mittheilungen über Goethe* II 528 —TR

⁵ Goethe to Meyer Jena March 3 1798 —TR.

they would append a complete imprint of Goethe's translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, with notes elucidating the history of politics and art in Italy in Cellini's time

Goethe returned to Weimar on April 6, 1798. Beside the various familiar official toils and distractions, he had on hand the preparations for the coming of Iffland, who had promised to play in Weimar if his expenses were paid¹. At this time Goethe took up his *Faust*, and found it possible to advance with it². Meyer was to make outline sketches in Indian ink on grayish brown paper for this "barbarian composition,"³ (barbarian contrasted with his Greek epic material the *Achilleis*), the outlines to be set off afterwards with the brush. Now, too, Goethe took out the *camera obscura* again and other apparatus for the study of colour.

Schiller's ailing condition prevented him from coming to Weimar during Iffland's eleven days' stay,⁴ and Charlotte Schiller saw only the performance of May 3. Iffland could not play *Egmont* because, to Goethe's annoyance, he had forgotten the words. During this delightful little dramatic season Goethe gave a series of *déjeuners* at his own expense, to which Iffland, with his ugly wife, and between twenty and thirty of the people of most consequence, were invited. Charlotte von Stein was at the first of the series, and all the royal personages of Weimar, the Hereditary Prince of Gotha and many ladies. Fraulein von Wolfskeel was asked to the *déjeuner* that fell on her birthday, the 1st of May.

¹ "I ask for no honorarium whatever. What I see and feel there is the noblest honorarium." Iffland's letter to Kuims, March 30, 1798. Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 245.—TR.

² Goethe's letters to Charlotte Schiller, April 14, 18, 21, 1798. During Schiller's illness Charlotte wrote to Goethe, and received letters from him. Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 246.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 29, 1798.—TR.

⁴ April 24-May 4, 1798.—TR.

Goethe had hoped to get away to Jena soon after Iffland's performances had come to a close. But it was needful that he should wait the coming of Thouret who delayed longer than had been expected. In this time of suspense *Trust* was laid aside for the *Ach ließ*¹. At length (May 10, 1798) Goethe hastens with August to Jena. Karl von Stein and his bride and three other couples were to be married in Charlotte von Stein's house on that day, and Goethe wished to avoid being present. His August had a dear playmate in Schiller's boy Karl who was very proud of a gay little hunter costume. Goethe spent most of the evenings of this stay in Schiller's garden. After consultation with Schiller he wrote for the bookseller Cotta an exact account of the purpose of the work which he and Meyer meant to bring out. It should consist of the speculations on Nature and Art of friends whose minds were in harmony (in "Nature" he was at the moment only thinking of the Theory of Light and Colour).

Before the close of May 1798 the arrival of Thouret drew Goethe back to Weimar. But June 4 saw him again with Schiller for a stay of two weeks and a half. At first articles for the new work occupied him; then as he had to provide for the *Musenalmanach* he worked on lyric poetry. Between June 13 and June 17 he completed the elegy on Christiane Becker (*Euphrosyne*), *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, *Das Blumlein Wunderschön*, *Der Müllerin Verrith*, *Die Musageten*, *Deutscher Parnass*. And during this period he grew interested in experiments in magnetism. On June 21 1798 he went to Oberrossla to take possession of his new property and to induct the new tenant. He had meant to return to Jena but was summoned unexpectedly by business.

¹ Goethe to Knebel May 5 1798. Goethe to Schiller May 1 1798.—TR.

to Weimar Here, during the last week of June 1798 and the early part of July, and during another short stay in Jena (July 4-11), his projected epic *Wilhelm Tell* was closely thought over Then he was fully occupied by the matter of rebuilding Weimar Theatre, and by the new work undertaken by Cotta They had decided to give it the name *Die Propylaeen*,¹ significant of its purpose On July 25, 1798, Goethe's noble Introduction to *Die Propylaeen* was sent to Cotta

Meanwhile Goethe's interest in magnetism had not died On July 14, 1798, the pieces of iron cast in Ilmenau by his directions have arrived in Weimar The experiments for which he wanted them have turned out as he expected, and a few new phenomena of which he had not thought, very remarkable ones He draws up a scheme of all effects due to polarity² (The presence in Weimar of the Dutch physicist, von Marum, is a great help to him) And he is successful in an endeavour to imitate wood engraving with copper The pleasure of these successes was marred by the Duke's re-entering the Prussian service, a step by no means likely to benefit Weimar

In the beginning of August 1798, Goethe being again in Jena, Schiller read to him the two powerful last Acts of *Wallenstein* so far as they were yet complete But Goethe did not believe that these would be of use for the stage within any short time, and he planned to write "a kind of fore-piece and a prologue" for the opening of the new Weimar Theatre⁴ Schiller had now to get the *Musenalmanach* ready, and only when, this labour over, he came to Weimar on

¹ See Schiller to Goethe, June 28, 1798

² Goethe to Schiller, July 14, 1798 —TR

³ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, June 15, 1798 Goethe to Schiller, July 21, 1798 —TR

⁴ Goethe to Kirms, August 14, 1798 —TR

September 10, 1798 did Goethe succeed in moving him to give *Wallenstein's Lager* for the needed sole piece and to make of *Wallenstein* itself two distinct plays. And still it was with great difficulty that the sole piece and the prologue (also undertaken by Schiller) were obtained in time. The opening performance was fixed for October 1, 1798. Very toilsome for Goethe were the days preceding this. But he had a great reward. His new theatre and Schiller's sole piece were universally praised. The admirably spoken prologue and the fresh life and movement of the *Lager* charmed all. Never probably before or since has one poet expended so much sympathy and enthusiasm in bringing on the stage the work of another. And now at any cost the first part of the Tragedy of *Wallenstein* must be ready for the next birthday of the Duchess that Schiller's triumph might be full. From Schiller's dramatic labours Goethe expected the very highest result. For Schiller would continue to advance with all the endurance of his strong nature on the path which had proved such a happy one. Goethe himself had indeed a great part in this.

On October 14, 1798 the two poets went to Jeni together. Thence Goethe sent to Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* a notice of the late opening of the theatre¹ designing to foretell Bottiger who was very fond of communicating news in all directions. After about a week's stay Goethe left Jeni having to prepare for the first *Redoute* of the season which was to take place on October 26 in the theatre. At the same time he began anew to work passionately on his Theory of Colour and resolved not to desist until he was quite done with it. Schiller's praise of the first number of *Die Propyläen* gave him keen pleasure. Through *Die Propyläen* Goethe hoped to

¹ See this reprinted Hempel's *Goethe* xxvi: 630 — TR.

² Goethe & Schiller October 31 November 7 1798 — TR.

work for ideal Plastic Art, as Schiller worked for the Drama. But the periodical would be also a real good to himself, for it would compel him to give expression to ideas and experiences that he had long borne about with him¹. In the first week of November 1798 Goethe had to spend a few days in Oberrossla, during which he considered the whole Theory of Colour. On the 11th of November began a long visit to Jena, and the same subject occupied his thoughts. Of course Schiller and he talked a great deal about *Die Piccolomini*, to finish which was so pressingly needful. For *Die Prophylaeen* Goethe was preparing the important letters *Der Sammler und die Seinigen* in the novel form. On November 29, 1798, the Duke wrote to Goethe that Count Friess and Lerse (Goethe's honest Strassburg friend of old times) had come to Weimar, their visit was partly to the Court. Goethe returned to Weimar on the evening of the 29th.

Lerse, after having with Pfeffel conducted the Military School in Colmar, had in the Revolution times been for two years Commandant of the *Garde Nationale* there, but finding no satisfaction in this, turned to the labour of collecting the scattered Archives and Monastery Libraries of Colmar, and had shown therein remarkable patience, skill, and knowledge. After this Count Friess (the Viennese connoisseur and collector whom Goethe met in Rome) had chosen Lerse for his son's companion. Lerse in this capacity spent two years in Leipzig, and was now a man of wide learning in art and antiquities. In Numismatics especially he was well versed, witness his criticism of the works of Eckhel and Sestini. To meet again this dear friend, direct and honest as of old, and to call to mind with him the happy youthful days, must have been a rare joy to Goethe.

December was generally a bad month with Goethe, and

¹ Goethe to Schiller, October 31, 1798 —TR

in the December of 1798 his time was miserably wasted by 'polypus like' ¹ tasks. On December 24 he had the pleasure of hearing from Schiller that a copy of *Die Pucolomini* had been sent to Iffland and also that in the course of the week the transcript of the play for the Weimar Theatre would be properly finished. At Schiller's wish Goethe had ere this arranged that when he came to Weimar to look after the rehearsal of his play, he should have the rooms in the Castle lately occupied by Thouret (Thouret, having quarrelled with Wolzogen Schiller's brother in law had left Weimar). After all pressing it was only on December 31 that the copy of *Die Pucolomini* at length arrived.

While the theatre was thus moving on to a higher development an undertaking which during twelve years had lain close to Goethe's heart had come to an unhappy close. There had been a new outbreak of the water at Ilmenau and all hope of profitable mining was at an end. It was just possible to keep the shafts and drifts open for thoroughfare. Goethe whose regret was deep did not revisit Ilmenau until fifteen years later. It was in this year of misfortune 1798 that his friend Knebel whose marriage with a former *Kammersängerin* had rendered it impossible for him to live in Weimar, took up his abode in Ilmenau.

On New Year's Day 1799 Goethe wishing to keep the players in good humour on account of the great efforts before them gave them a little breakfast. On January 4 came Schiller in time to dine with Goethe. It was a January full of labour and enjoyment for the friends. Many social diversions enlivened the time. On January 16 there was a

¹ On July 27 1799—it was a time of great worry—Goethe writes to Schiller — Business tasks are polypus like if you cut them into a hundred pieces each single piece becomes living again.—TR

great dinner in honour of Schiller at Goethe's house. Herder, Voigt Meyer, and Bottiger, and others were present. Heider was somewhat milder at this time, he had received from *Duc. Faustus*, "a peculiar, pure and great training." The reading-rehearsals of *Duc. Faustus* took place in Goethe's house. Schiller was too ill to attend the seven rehearsals. At length the representation on the Duchess's birthday came off, and with the greatest success. Goethe had a rich reward for the trial he entreated in teaching the actors to speak the unaccustomed rhymes. To Goethe's regret, the Duke's aesthetic judgment of the play (in a letter of January 31) was altogether from a French point of view; he was pleased only by "the exceedingly beautiful language" finding in the play numbers of mistakes in other respects. However, on February 1 he invited the author to come with Goethe to dinner, and he rewarded the two chief actors. The second representation (February 2 1799) was even more successful than the first. Goethe was not at it, being too weary after the birthday *Rück*.¹ "It may be considered," he writes, "what after a pause, can be done to urge the third representation further."²

On February 6, 1799, Goethe accompanied his friend to Jena and remained three weeks there working on the Theory of Colour, and engaged in all sorts of business the most important matter being the threatening ice-choke. As to Schiller's alterations in *Duc. Faustus*, and the third piece that was gradually forming he showed the old cordial fruitful sympathy. At the end of February he returned to Weimar.

In the gloomy distracted winter days he was not happy.

¹ "Eine eigene reine und grosse Stimmaung" Knebel's No. 276. See also in this connection Goethe to Knebel March 22 1799 — Duntzer C. 1799. Akten A. 5. v. n. 273 275 — TR

² Goethe to Schiller February 3, 1799 — TR

It is very strange he writes on March 6 1799 to Schiller that my position which speaking generally could not be more favourable is very much in opposition to my nature Schiller exhorted him to courage and cheerfulness and Goethe turned again to the *Achilles* which he hoped to finish by the end of September¹ When he receives the concluding acts of *Wallensteins Tod* sent to him on March 17 1799 he congratulates his friend heartily, as for his own work extorted by violence from the Muses, he does not yet know whether it will be worth anything He clings with ardour to the thought of working for the elevation of Plastic Art thinks about prize tasks for painters and sculptors in which the principles set forth in *Die Propylaen* shall find practical illustration The Duke intimated that as the competing works were to appear in the Weimar Art Exhibition he was prepared to pay the greater part of the thirty ducats to which the prizes would amount

On March 21 1799 Goethe in order to gain freedom for the *Achilles* went to Jena Here he learned with pleasure that Schiller in order to develop a new tragic material would not for a time write any lyrical poetry and instead of producing the *Musenalmanach* for the year would edit a poem by his young friend Fraulein von Imhof *Die Schwestern on Lesbos*² Goethe even relieved Schiller of the trouble of reading this poem through, and planned to write an introductory elegy to heighten its effect³ The completion (April) of the first canto of the *Achilles* filled him with courage But

¹ Goethe to Schiller March 9 1799 —TR

Den Musen abgetrotzte Goethe to Schiller [March 18 1799]
—TR

² Goethe to Meyer Jena March 21 1799 Schillers new tragic material was *Die fledel des Bader* afterward *Der Brat on Myra*
—TR

⁴ Goethe to Meyer Jena, March 27 1799 —TR

alas! when he made a short pause in order to secure himself exactly as to the "motives" next to be developed, his inspiration chilled, the poem stood still.

During the winter 1798-9 in affair had been a going on which, though altogether unconnected with poetry or the drama, interested Goethe and Schiller very much. In December 1798 the Elector of Saxony had written to the Duke of Weimar touching certain articles, in a number of Fichte's *Philosophisches Journal* which revolved of atheism. The Elector begged that the authors and editors of the articles might be made responsible, and pointed out that otherwise it might be "Our" unpleasant duty to forbid the children of "Our" state to resort to Jenⁿ University and the *Gymnasien* of the Duchy Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. Before I quote knew that any such request had reached the Duke he had printed a pamphlet defending himself conclusively against the charge of atheism. So far, of course, his action was perfectly justifiable. But many of his subsequent words and acts were rather those of a hot, indiscreet man than of one concerned chiefly about Truth and Liberty of Speculation. The Weimar Government was very anxious to befriend him, but he seemed unable to believe this, and at length threatened that if he were censured he would resign, and that some of his friends who thought as he did were resolved to follow him. This of course precipitated matters. Fichte was censured and his resignation was accepted March 1799.¹

On April 10, 1799, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by Schiller, on the two following days the rehearsals of the trilogy *Wallenstein* took place, and the three pieces were publicly represented, *Wallensteins Lager* on April 15, the *Piccolomini* on April 17, and *Wallensteins Tod* on April 20,

¹ Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, Theil II 278 280, 285, 287, 290 293. Duntzer, *Aus Goethes Freundschaft*, 396 408 — 1.

1799 Even the most insensible spectators were stirred to enthusiasm by *Wallensteins Tod* Goethe's heart was full of joy in this the first decisive success of his dear friend and brother poet, who has opened new paths for author and actor by his ideal Drama

We find him again in Jena from May 1 to May 27 1799 He has a carriage of his own with him in which he daily goes out driving with Schiller Enabled by his friend's active sympathy he completed by May 1 - the group of letters entitled *Der Sammler und die Seinigen* which were intended to gain for the *Propylae* the interest of a wider public. Schiller had ere this begun printing a collection of his poems Now Goethe too resolved to publish the lyrical poems of his later years as the seventh volume of his *Neue Schriften* those written in elegiac form he meant to submit to sharp prosodic scrutiny Schiller undertook to get the publisher Unger to introduce the matter and ask for the poems

When Goethe returned to Weimar the pressure of business prevented him from doing steady connected work. Revising the poem of Amalia von Imhof according to the standard of a more searching criticism gave him a great deal of trouble Meanwhile Meyer had finished his beautiful design for a monument to Christiane Becker its execution was entrusted to the Gotha sculptor Doll On June 8 1799 Goethe went with his wife and child to Oberrossla So urgently did his own affairs there claim him that he excused himself when the Duchess summoned him to Weimar to renew old acquaintance with the Prussian Minister von Haugwitz the companion of the Stolbergs on the Swiss journey of 1775 Soon after however Goethe had to return The Duke had invited the King of Prussia when visiting Erfurt to come to Weimar which was by no means prepared for a royal visit as the ducal family were themselves

living very economically How unwelcome the prospect of this visit was may be read in Goethe's letters to Schiller "External circumstance makes our existence and plunders our existence at the same time," he writes on June 19, 1799, "nevertheless it is a man's concern to see that, things being so, he yet comes through, for to isolate one's self entirely, as Wieland has done, is not to be counselled"

About this time, too, Goethe was again wearied by his eccentric fellow-townsman Johann Isaak Gerning Gerning, a son of the famous entomologist, was born in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1767 When in 1790 the King and Queen of Naples, on the occasion of the coronation at Frankfurt, had stopped at the house of Gerning's father, they had taken so great a liking for the young fellow, then twenty-three, that they invited him to Naples When he went there in 1791 the Queen was said to have treated him like a son Radiant in the distinction of this favour, he came in the autumn of 1794 to Weimar and Jena, thinking that his acquaintance with the Neapolitan royal pair, his being Goethe's fellow-townsman, and his gift for poetry, would procure him the best treatment He gained the *entrée* at the houses of the Duchess Amalia, of the Weimar celebrities, and of the good Knebel Goethe was rather cold, he saw that the new-comer was designing, and really not worth much Gerning attended lectures in Jena during the winter 1794-5 Afterwards he sent contributions of verse to *Musenalmanachs* and monthlies, Schiller and Wieland being among the editors thus made happy When in the summer of 1797 he was about to visit Italy, he offered himself to Goethe as a travelling companion Goethe could politely avoid this, being unable at the time to decide about his own journey Gerning was now back again and had been paying Knebel a visit in Ilmenau From Knebel he came to Goethe as to a brother-poet! To him

that remark refers in Goethe's letter to Schiller June 1, 1799 — I much wished had a dilettante in poetry with me who would have brought me to desperation had I not been in the mood to contemplate him as a contribution to Natural History to gain once for all a right objective notion of the species. This dilettantism in poetry was precisely the evil if the two great allies were combating with all their powers¹. A better reception than Goethe's was found by Cervinus with Herder.

On June 30, 1799 Schiller came to Weimar to be present at the performance of *Wallersteins Tod*² which the King of Prussia had desired to hear when given his choice by the Duke. (Schiller was by this time at work on *Wilhelm Meister*) After levee at Court on July 1 all went to the theatre. *Wallersteins Tod* had a great success. Schiller was summoned to the royal box and the King praised the piece and the Queen talked for a long time with both Schiller and Herder. We do not hear that Goethe rejoiced in any special mark of favour. The Queen's disposition towards him was not friendly nor was his external appearance at this time remarkable, excepting he had grown much too stout. Yet the Queen loved and honoured Goethe's mother with whom she had stayed in the coronation time in 1790 and to whom four years later (1803) she gave a golden necklace. It was only in subsequent trouble darkened days that the Queen felt the power of the tragedy and pathos of *Wilhelm Meister*³. But the sun of royal favour shone not on him was a matter of small concern to Goethe did not his friend profit by its rays? Schiller was now recognised as the first of German dramatists, and Goethe was happy.

¹ See bes de Goethe's and Schiller's letters at this time the scheme in Goethe's Works of an Essay *Über den sogenannten Dichterstil* — TR

² See Dunster's *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit* 530 53 — TR

³ See Carlyle's Essay on Goethe and its quotation from *Ainst und Alterthum* for 1844 — TR.

But how discouraging just at this time was Cotta's announcement that he had sold hardly 450 copies of the *Propylaen*, being already at a loss of 2500 gulden by it! Goethe concealed this from Schiller in order not to trouble the pleasure of the days of his success. When Schiller on his return to Jena read in a letter of Cotta's how far from prosperous was the undertaking by which the friends had hoped to work some reformation, he was passionately stirred to think of the "unheard-of pitifulness"¹ of the public—much more than Goethe, who only felt a deep regret that noble seed had fallen on unreceptive soil. And though he strove for a time so to arrange that continuation might be possible,² the enthusiastic confidence of the beginning was gone.

And now he could not get away to Jena. The betrothal of the Hereditary Prince to a Russian princess having been planned, the Duke desired to get the Castle finished as soon as possible, and he believed Goethe's presence in Weimar to be necessary³. The poet was low-spirited and disquieted to think how the precious time was passing without durable results. He writes moodily to Schiller on July 27, 1799—“Our latest experiences have convinced me anew that men desire, not any kind of genuine theoretic insight, but phrases by which their mode of thinking and acting may acquire some seeming”⁴. In such a state of intellectual “debasement” he was able to meet with calm composure, nay, even with perfect friendliness, his old friend Mama Laroche, who with her

¹ Schiller to Goethe, July 5, 1799—TR

² Goethe to Schiller, July 10, 1799—TR

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 9, 1799—TR

⁴ He goes on as follows—“A few friends who visited our collection, the presence of our old friend [Frau von Laroche], and, above all, the amateur theatre lately constituted, have given me terrible examples of that truth, and the walls which I have already drawn round my existence shall now be carried a couple of feet higher”—TR

grandchildren (two daughters of poor little Max Trentano who was now dead six years) had come (July 15) to visit Wieland in Osmannstedt. Coethe met Frau von Laroche first at the furt, then when staying for a short time at Oberroth she went over to Osmannstedt to see her, and finally invited her and her granddaughters to dine at his house on July 6 1799. The good old friend who could now be nothing to Coethe was as it were intoxicated by the deliriousness of this sentimental dinner.¹ And reading her minute account of the entertainment, it must be acknowledged that the whole was admirably thought out with the design of lifting her to the third heaven of happiness. The company was sentimental. Wieland was there and Charlotte von Stein and Caroline von Wolzogen and Amalia von Imhof. And at the end—while soft music came in from the garden through the beautiful shrubs—appeared an *Anorino* no other than Goethe's nine-year-old August. On the preceding day July 5² Coethe had had the poets Tieck Hardenberg [Novalis] and A. W. Schlegel to dinner. The trippers and askers who swarmed round the great poet in his later years reported him cold and haughty, but to genuine merit he was open and friendly as ever.

Goethe had hoped that he could at any rate get away to Jena on July 7 or 8. But he had to wait the return of the Duke and Voigt and his hope proved vain. In order to escape the bustle and noise of his house in the town he takes

¹ Charlotte Schiller: 337 Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August*—Tr.

² Frau von Laroche's account is quoted at length in Duntzer's *Jahrbücher für Goethes Freunde* pp. 548 550.—Tr.

³ Duntzer observes that the letter No. 633 in Goethe's and Schiller's published correspondence is misdated July 4 1799. It should be July 25. Tieck directed Goethe's attention to Ben Jonson urging him to read *Vulpes*.—Tr.

refuge at the end of July in his Garden,¹ where he lives solitary, having sent Christiane and August to Jena. August, like Wilhelm Meister's Felix, showed much readiness in writing, in languages, and in all objective acquirements (*zu allem was angeschaut werden muss*), and had moreover a good memory. Goethe desired only to develop what really lay in him, and to secure accuracy and thoroughness in what he did learn.²

In his garden solitude Goethe now spent six happy and industrious weeks. He wrote the *Erste Walpurgsnacht*,³ a ballad of a peculiar kind—dramatic in form, and intended to be set to music, laboured at collecting and revising his poems for that Seventh Volume which Unger was to publish, continued the revising of *Du Schwestern vor Lesbos*, (it had ere this been determined to publish the poem in the *Musenalmanach*), studied Winckelmann's life and writings,⁴ and planned to write with Meyer's aid the history of Art during the eighteenth century.⁵ On August 21, 1799, he tells Schiller that, contrary to his custom, he has been staying up until midnight to await the moon, which he looks at through the Auch⁶ telescope. Meanwhile the building of the Castle went on briskly, and drew Goethe into the town several times (He was not content with the plan). He took a house in Weimar for Schiller, who meant to spend the winter there in order to be near the theatre. Meanwhile the number of

¹ The trees and shrubs sown twenty years before had now grown so much as almost to deprive the house of light and air. "Thus does it often happen," remarks Goethe, "our own wishes grow over our heads"—TR.

² These details about August are from Goethe's letter to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, August 21, 1799.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

⁵ Auch was a Weimar mechanician Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

drawings sent in to compete for the prizes offered in the spring was growing very large and Goethe spent some time examining and discussing them with Meyer, beside arranging about exhibiting them.

The Duke's return did not after all release Goethe. About September 13 1790 Schiller came to Weimar for a few days.¹ The friends criticised the drawings together. It was at this time that Schiller received the gift of silver plate which the Duchess had resolved on as a token of gratitude after the presentation of *Wallenstein* in July 1799. Now came the Duke's reply to Schiller's petition for an increase of salary to enable him to live in Weimar during the winters. The Duke added two hundred thalers to the salary and hoped that Schiller would in future before finishing his plays submit them to the Weimar lovers of the drama. Here Karl August is thinking especially of himself; he did not consider Goethe a sufficient counsel to Schiller. He had become very enthusiastic about the theatre; this may be largely ascribed to his passion for Caroline Jagemann the remarkable *prima donna* and actress. His partiality for the French drama may be seen in his expressing to Goethe a wish to have Voltaire's *Mahomet* on the Weimar stage.

Schiller having returned on September 15 1799 to Jena, Goethe followed him thither next day intending to remain a fortnight. He went through his elegiacs and hexameters with A W Schlegel, and towards the end of September began at length to translate the *Mahomet* and for the sake of this translation obtained leave of absence until the 13th of October. His intimacy with the two Schlegels who visited him frequently vexed many people even Schiller was a little put out by it. Goethe visited no one except Schiller and the old

¹ Schiller was returning with his family from Rudolstadt.—TR.

² Dorothea Veit (Dorothea Mendelssohn by birth afterwards Dorothea Schlegel) was one of those disappointed by Goethe's secluding himself

Ecclesiastical Privy Councillor, Griesbach, (a native of Butzbach, but brought up from babyhood in Frankfurt) In the night between the 11th and 12th of October 1799 a daughter was born to Schiller, Goethe was one of the sponsors

According to his promise Goethe returned to Weimar on October 13 There the old throng of official duties pressed in upon him, and the collectedness needful for literary labour was totally unattainable He had half resolved to go back to Jena in the beginning of November 1799, when he received a letter from Schiller bearing word that Charlotte Schiller was dangerously ill Goethe felt that he could be no use to Schiller in Jena, and would himself but spend the time in disquiet¹ In order to divert and compose his thoughts he went with his family to Niederrossla for a few days, where he was present at the dedication of a church There he heard from Schiller that Charlotte was growing better, was out of danger When the fever subsided, however, the state of the sufferer's mind caused deep anxiety Meanwhile Goethe was occupied with the report on the allotment of the drawing-prizes, and with the announcement of a new competition It was a great pleasure when, in the midst of his labours, his Roman friend, the painter Bury, arrived for a visit of considerable length

It was dreadful, she thought, to be in Jena and yet not see Goethe See this and other details of this stay, Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 313-316 — TR

¹ Goethe to Schiller, October 26, 1799 Goethe's brother-in-law, Johann Georg Schlosser, had died on October 17, 1799 Goethe tells Schiller of this on October 23 When the French were approaching Frankfurt Schlosser was outside the walls in his garden, he found the gate nearest his garden closed, hurried to the next gate, which was a good deal farther away, and, thus heated by exercise, heated himself further by entering a warm room From this he was summoned to the Council, where he caught cold, then fever came, and he was carried off very fast The reader will probably care for these details of one of the old intimate Frankfurt circle, now fast dwindling — TR

The Court of Weimar gave Bury a friendly reception. On November 6 Schiller weary of watching in the house of sickness sought refreshment and rest in a few hours visit to Weimar he left his Karl behind with August Goethe. On November 7 1799 Professor Doll came with the monument to Christiane Becker Goethe received it and had it temporarily deposited in the Castle Yard The Duke promised to contribute to the cost of erecting it properly

On November 9 1799 Goethe went to stay some weeks in Jena If my presence can bring no positive help he writes to Schiller on the 8th the diversion of the thoughts in an enduring sorrow is at any rate always something He succeeded during his stay in finishing the translation of the *Mahomet* But this was not the important event of the visit In the earlier part of it before the *Mahomet* was finished Goethe read the first volume of the *Mémoires historiques de Stéphanie Louise de Bourbon Conti* lent him by Schiller On November 18 1799¹ he conceived from the perusal of this book the idea of a drama *Eugenie* afterwards called *Die Natürliche Tochter* In this piece Goethe hoped to free himself of the mighty material of the French Revolution He would show the monarchy which the crimes of king and of noblesse had destroyed restored on the firm basis of reverence for the liberty of the people on the part of the ruler and his ministers and of confidence in and harmonious co-operation with the Government on the part of the people The project lay so near his heart that he kept it secret even from Schiller And during this visit to Jena Goethe wrote his first sonnets they were sharp ridicule of dilettantism in Art He was led to the sonnet form through his intimacy with A W Schlegel On December 2, 1799 Goethe is able

¹ Riemer *Mittheilungen über Goethe* 1 557 —TR

The sonnets which Goethe wrote in 1799 have been lost The

to write to Gottlieb Hufeland —“During the three weeks of my stay here I have at last put together the scheme of the whole Theory of Colour You know from your own experience what a great gain that is” On December 3, 1799, Schiller, with his wife, now convalescent, went to Weimar, but Goethe stayed on in Jena, where on December 6 and 7¹ he framed the plan of the first two pieces of his trilogy *Eugenie*. He left for Weimar on December 8

earliest preserved sonnet of Goethe's is that which closes Scene six of *Was wir bringen*, written June 1802 Next in order comes the Sonnet spoken by Eugenie in *Die Natürliche Tochter*, Act II Scene IV, written at the close of 1802 Next comes *Das Sonnett*, now the first poem in the division of Goethe's poems headed *Eptigrammatische*, this was probably written in 1806, it appeared in the *Morgenblatt* for January 5, 1807, and soon after in a volume of Goethe's poems which he had arranged for the printer before going to Karlsbad in 1806 Then in December 1807, at Jena, he begins writing, in competition with Riemer and Zacharias Werner, the group known as the *Sonnette* (The two sonnet-translations in Goethe's translation of Benvenuto Cellini's Life (1796) are by A W Schlegel) Duntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte erlautert*, III 244-246 — II

¹ Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, II 557 During this time Goethe heard Tieck read his *Genoveva*, and was much interested by Malone's essay on the probable order of Shakespeare's plays, by a tragedy and a comedy of Ben Jonson's, and by two of the apocryphal Shakespeare plays (Goethe to Schiller, December 6, 1799) During this time, too, Dorothea Veit had her desire, and met Goethe She was out walking on November 14, 1799, with the brothers Schlegel, Caroline Schlegel, Hardenberg [Novulis] and his brother, in a public walk called “Paradise” Goethe unexpectedly appeared, seemed not to wish to meet the large party, then they executed a skilful manœuvre, half the party retired, and the Schlegels went forward with Dorothea Veit, whom Wilhelm introduced as Moses Mendelssohn's daughter She did not mean to talk at first, but, seeing that Goethe and Schlegel were not talking, thought “Devil take shyness! If he is bored now I am irrecoverably lost” So she immediately began to ask him about the destructive floods in the Saale, he replied, and they got on pleasantly Of all his works his presence made her think most of *Wilhelm Meister* See Dorothea Schlegel's Letters recently edited by Dr Ruch — TR

When back in Weimar he used the remnant of time not devoted by business in giving his translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet* a final revision. During this winter of 1799-1800 a young student of medicine Nikolaius Meyer of Leipsic who lodged near went a great deal of his time in Goethe's house. He was writing his Doctor's Dissertation the subject—the Anatomy of the Mouse. He was welcome to the use of Goethe's anatomical collection. The intervals of leisure took place on the kitchen hearth to Cimmerian horror. Meyer was also the good friend of Christian and August with whom later he often went to Eisenach a semblance a fact which was greedily pounced on by scandal. Schiller had taken up his abode in his new dwelling earlier than his wife who stayed with Charlotte von Stein until December 16. He spent many of his evenings with Goethe. On December 17 1799 Goethe at length could read *Mahomet* to Schiller the Duke and the Duchess. The Duke took a remarkable interest in the representation of this play and discussed it thoroughly with Goethe. On December 18 Goethe invites Schiller's wife to his house for the first time. On December 23 a large evening party (one of his guests being Herder) assembled at his house to hear *Mahomet* read. On December 24 Schiller and Goethe dined with the Duke. We find Goethe taking a warm interest in the three first acts of *Mahomet* and though in the closing days of 1799 not very well spending New Year's Eve in the most cordial intercourse with Schiller.

During the last year of the eighteenth century¹ the two great poets continued their labours towards the ennoblement of the German stage. Schiller not only trained the actors in his own plays but would take Goethe's place in the rehearsals of the plays of others sometimes in cases of sheer necessity.

¹ Note how Schiller in the summer of 1800 makes the mistake that Heine made calling 1800 the new century.—TR

in the rehearsals of operas, though he knew nothing of music. They found it impossible to exclude Kotzebue, who had come to Weimar in 1799. He stood in high favour with the Duchess Amalia, and required no payment for his plays. The first dramatic task of the year was the preparation of the *Mahomet*. It demanded special care, as it was admired so much by the Duke, and was to be given on the Duchess's birthday (January 30, 1800). Schiller undertook to write a prologue, stating that the classic French Drama was here produced on the German stage not as a model for imitation, but as an example of a distinctly characterised national Form of Art. And the two friends agreed (January 6) that Shakespeare's *Macbeth* should be prepared by Schiller, and Goethe's *Iphigenie* by Goethe, for stage representation. The barometer was low, and in this kind of weather Schiller could work, while Goethe felt well only when the barometer was high. Accordingly two acts of *Macbeth* were ready by January 20, 1800, while Goethe on that day despaired of adapting *Iphigenie*. The performance of *Mahomet* on January 30, 1800, excited Goethe's enemies to extravagant abuse. However, before the performance Goethe had written — "To me it is indifferent, whether the piece pleases, and whatever may result from its representation I regard it as an experiment in which author, actor, and public may learn many a good lesson"¹. The Duke had the piece repeated, and endeavoured to improve the future representations by his criticism.

Just after the middle of February 1800 Schiller had a severe illness. We find him six weeks later, on March 24, 1800, still suffering from its consequences. Goethe and Meyer visited him constantly, and showed their true and anxious sympathy. We know little of Goethe's activity during the time. On February 26 he sends the *Romische Elegien* to

¹ Goethe to Knebel, January 30, 1800 — TR

A W Schlegel to receive his final corrections¹ On March 5 we find him thanking Schlegel for these corrections the greater number of which have been adopted and enclosing the Second Book of *Elegien* the *Epigramme* shall follow (they did on March 10), my present condition is as unpoetic as it is uncritical and such aid is therefore very valuable All desire to continue *Eugenie* flagged At this time Bury finished painting a half length portrait of Goethe a little more than life size Though somewhat idealised it was a very good likeness and gained general praise After this Bury began to paint Goethe seated with the attributes of the stage At length on April 10, 1800 Goethe was able to despatch to Unger the final poems of his Seventh Volume² in the arrangement of which Schiller's sympathy had been a valuable aid

On April 28 1800 Goethe followed the Duke to Leipzig Fair He had found that he must seek some refreshing influence In Leipzig he met the celebrated metrist Hermann⁴ and had a long talk with him on suggesting that he should write on German metre Hermann replied that Goethe must first create German metre Another whom he met in Leipzig was Cotta to whom he promised text to match the caricatures of women in the *Pocket book for Ladies* Goethe had his Christiane and August to Leipzig also that they might enjoy the bustle and life of the Fair

¹ He had spoken of sending the *Rom sechz Elegien* to Schlegel Jan 1 1800 but seems to have delayed hoping to see Schlegel —TR

See Goethe's reference at the end of a letter to A W Schlegel dated April 2 1800 to a work that I have begun which Professor Duntzer (*Goethe und Karl August u. 33*) believes to refer to *Eugenie* —TR

³ The treasures of this wonderful volume of lyric poetry are reckoned by Duntzer *Gethes lyrische Gedichte erlaute t 1 -70 274* —TR

⁴ Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann The name of Goethe's friend of old times was Christian Gottfried Hermann Oeser had died before this visit to Leipzig Goethe probably visited Friederike Oeser —TR

that "world in a nut"¹ They left Weimar on May 9 With them Goethe returned on May 16, 1800 Schiller was away in Ettersburg finishing *Maria Stuart*, having brought his adaptation of *Macbeth* on the stage with success, he had started the day before Goethe's return On June 9, 1800, Schiller came back to Weimar with *Maria Stuart* finished, its rehearsals began at once The performance on June 14 was a new triumph for Schiller He had carried through what the Duke viewed with grave doubt, and Goethe too—he had the Holy Communion represented on the stage In this summer died suddenly the good true Lerse, to whom had come in his very last days a cordial greeting from his friend of the old Strassburg time

For a long time Goethe felt out of tune hardly got his contribution to Cotta's *Pocket-book* done,² he turned to *Faust*, but could not advance aright, while Schiller had already taken firm grasp of a new subject³ At length he could bear it no more, and on July 22, 1800, suddenly made up his mind to fly to his abode in the Castle at Jena There he had indeed some business, but not so much as to prevent literary work On arrival he began immediately translating the last three acts of Voltaire's *Tancrède* Of this he had already spoken to Schiller, but he now planned to make a freer adaptation, and to add a Chorus On August 1 he "unties a small knot" in *Faust*—he discovers how to introduce *Helena*, he could do a great deal if only he had a fortnight longer in Jena, "but unfortunately I imagine myself to be needed in Weimar, and to this imagination I sacrifice my most vivid desire"⁴

¹ Goethe to Schiller [end of April 1800] —TR

² *Die guten Weiber*—The good Women—to counterbalance the caricatures of women —TR

³ *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* —TR

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, Jena, August 1, 1800 —TR

He returned on August 4 1800 and was engrossed by the building of the Castle and the drawings competing for the prize as they gradually accumulated but literary work was almost impossible So on September 3 the anniversary so important in Goethe's life of the Duke's birthday he hastened back to Jena and there succeeded in beginning *Helena* He was visited on September 11 by Schiller and Meyer and the allotment of the prizes was decided and the new prize theme fixed on Goethe read aloud the beginning of *Helena* Schiller felt that in it breathed the losty spirit of ancient tragedy But Goethe was now withheld from poetry for a while by having to draw up a critical report on the drawings by conversations on higher physics with Ritter by conversations on philosophy with Niethammer and Friedrich Schlegel¹ It was his way to derive from intercourse with men of eminence in any kind that which profited his own being as from the books of great philosophers he culled the thoughts harmonising with his own This enjoyable stay came to an end with his return to Weimar on October 4 1800

Goethe was now attracted by the circle of the Duchess Amalia A comedy by Gotter *Die stolze Pastore* was played in masks in the Duchess's private theatre Goethe wrote an epilogue in address to the Duchess In the epilogue he refers to something new which she may hear in a few days This was his *Palaophon und Aeolterpe* a masque in which the change of century is celebrated It was composed very rapidly dictated to Henriette von Wolfskeel and then rehearsed as rapidly under Goethe's guidance When performed² there was no voice but pruse of the author and the

¹ Goethe to Schiller September 30 1800 —TR

² Hempel's *Goethe* xi 3 —TR

³ On the Duchess Amalia's birthday October 4 1800 See Duntzer *Schiller und Goethe* ii 205 and the footnote —TR

actors Goethe turned ardently to the Theatre then, he resolved to publish in union with Schiller a prize theme for dramatic pieces, and to celebrate the passage from the old to the new century by a series of festal performances. The first number of the *Propylaeen* (in 2) was now printed without indication of the resolve to publish no more.

About the middle of November 1800 Goethe again sought in Jena the rest and collectedness needful for literary work. Again men of science and philosophers claimed him, and "poor Poesy" had not her perfect rights. One of the philosophers was Schelling, who had returned to Jena for the winter. Goethe was drawn back to Weimar for a short time,² by the building of the Castle and by the Theatre. When in Jena again he at first began on *Faust*. But word came from Iffland that he would play Goethe's translation of *Tancrède* on the next Coronation Day, the 18th of January 1801. Goethe wrote to Iffland on December 16, 1800, promising to do his utmost. The piece would serve also for the birthday of the Duchess Luise, January 30, 1801. Unfortunately he had to give up the plan of a free translation and of introducing a Chorus. In order to finish his work in time he stayed on in Jena, alone in his room, only on one fine day did he go out walking. And he succeeded, on December 25, 1800, he sent the last two acts to Iffland, proposing at the same time lyric episodes for the piece. The old damp Castle was not a good December residence, and Goethe had caught a violent cold, which by the advice of a young doctor, a friend of his, he repelled with Peruvian balsam with opium and myrrhs.³ Meanwhile the Duke, to the annoyance of Goethe and Schiller,

¹ Goethe to Schiller, November 18, 1800.—TR

² From about November 24 to December 12, 1800 Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 349.—TR

³ See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801. The doctor was certainly a young Harbauer Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 352.—TR

had declared years ago his plan of celebrating the new year in he was particularly interested in the Direction of the State had not been tried with Schiller who only gave up all dealing in the matter.¹

On December 6 Goethe set out to Weimar in the Schelling with him to spend the Christmas vacation in his house. They opened their minds freely to each other on nature and art. On the last day of the celebration there was a lecture for which Goethe had prepared a good speech. After mid-night Goethe with Schelling Schelling did not issue admiring the future philosopher Steffens, and drew to a side room where a little later they were joined by Dr. W. Huschland and there they celebrated the eve of the new year in flowing champagne. Steffens put an interesting report of the party — Goethe was unrestrained in his mirth even to excess, while Schiller grew more and more serious and enveloped himself in ample doctrinaire synthetic exposition and did not let it put him out when Goethe by some brilliant objection tried to confuse him in his discourse. Schelling steadily maintained his calm bearing. I could hardly notice any change in him. The physician Hirschfeld was on the eve of departure to an appointment in Berlin. He joined us somewhat later, and he noted in the excellent man was the general dislike of Prussia was pretty strongly expressed and he very good naturedly put up with the jokes of which he was the object.

¹ See the undated letter No. 79 in the collection of the *Archiv zwischen Goethe und Schelling* (No. 180 in the second volume) — Tr.

² The Norwegian Henrik Steffens in his account of his stay in Weimar tells us that in 1798 he spent a few days in Weimar as Goethe's guest. He met Goethe first in Jena at the house of the bookseller Frommann then at Lüder's. But Steffens ace it is not quite correct. See Döntz *Goethe und A. I. August 11* 73 — Tr.

On January 1, 1801, the century was worthily begun with the performance of Haydn's *Creation*, and of Goethe's *Iphigenie* to Gluck's music. It was on the following day that Lavater, that faithful champion of justice and order, was after long suffering set free by death¹. On the same day Goethe was prostrated by violent illness, stated by Herder's wife to be a cold brought on by his presence at the theatre on the previous evening, and by Goethe himself² considered the result of that ill-judged treatment of the cold caught in the Castle at Jena. Erysipelas with fever and a convulsive cough were now added, on January 5 it had become necessary to keep him in an erect posture, breathing being impossible in a recumbent one, a repetition of the experience of thirty years ago in Frankfurt. His left eye was endangered by a tumour that formed on his whole head and neck, and the physician feared for his brain. Christiane related that in his ravings the old Pagan broke forth into the most moving, heart-piercing, genuinely passionate appeals to the Saviour³. During five days he was without personal consciousness. "Charlotte Schiller⁴ and I have shed many tears over him during the last few days," writes Charlotte von Stein on January 12 to Fritz. All Weimar was subdued to anxious sadness, now at last it was perceived how much all owed to the self-sacrifice of the sufferer. But on January 13 recovery had begun, he was able to send word that he was in a good way. In convalescence he was very low-spirited, weeping especially at

¹ In September 1799 Lavater, heroically endeavouring to save the people of Zurich from the excesses of Massena's soldiery, had received a gunshot wound which, though not immediately fatal, caused him great suffering and ultimately death.—TR

² *Tag- und-Jahres Hefte*, 1801.—TR

³ Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, i 121. Christiane used to repeat this whenever that epoch of Goethe's life came to be talked of.—TR

⁴ "Die Schillerin"—TR

sight of August. He was penetrated with the thought of the desolateness of his unwedded Christiane and her child had he died, he felt that until now he had never known what a deep disinterested love for him they cherished. On January 15 he sent to thank Charlotte von Stein for her sympathy and to say that he hoped soon to go out of doors. On January 19 he was able to thank the Duke by letter who then came to see him. Not to remain unemployed he turned to translating the little book of Theophrastus on Colours.¹ His friends Schiller Heinrich Meyer, Voigt, Finsiedel and Loder did their best to make the time of recovery pass pleasantly. It was not long ere he felt the need of music.² On January 1801 there was a little concert at his house, in which probably Caroline Jagemann and her younger sister sang as they did in one in April. On January 24 Goethe's left eye at length opened. And now he had the pleasure of receiving the Duchess Amalia with Fraulein von Gochhausen and Fraulein von Wolfskeel. The Duchess Luise was at the time unwell. When on January 6, Charlotte von Stein and Schiller's wife visited him he begged anew for their friendship as though he had just returned to the world. Schiller meanwhile superintended the rehearsals of the adaptation of *Tancrède* though on January 9 Goethe was able to go over the part of Amenaide with Fraulein Cäper. On the evening of January 29, after the last rehearsal Schiller supped with him and on the following evening was able to tell his friend of the success of the performance.

¹ *Jahres Hefte 1801*. The translation (finished at Jermont) is incorporated in the *Geschichte der Farbelehre*. See Hempel's *Goethe* xxxvi 544 — TR.

² Add Herder from the *Jahres Hefte*. But see Duncker *Schiller und Goethe* S 217 — TR.

³ The first higher need that I felt after my illness was that of music. Goethe to Reichardt February 5 1801 — TR.

CHAPTER III

FROM GOETHE'S DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF 1801 TO THE DEATH OF SCHILLER

FEBRUARY 1801-MAY 1805

It was with no common pleasure that Goethe, while recovering, received the hearty congratulations of *Capellmeister* Reichardt, whom the *Xemben* had hit very hard. He replied on February 5, 1801, in a letter in which thrills deep pleasure at the friendliness called into manifestation by his illness. After mention of the kindness of friends, and a few particulars of his illness, he goes on — “It is told of Haller that one day having fallen down a stair and on his head, he immediately on rising repeated in their order the names of the Chinese Emperors, wishing to try whether his memory had suffered. Let it not be taken amiss in me if I institute similar tests. I, too, had time and opportunity during the last fortnight to make present to my consciousness many of the threads which unite me to life, to business, to science and art. Not one, it seems, is snapt asunder. Combination proceeds as of old, and Production, too, seems to lurk in a corner, soon perhaps to delight me by her effects.”

Very deeply was Goethe impressed with the general advantage of his position in Weimar, notwithstanding its occasional oppressive circumstance. He did not hide from himself that

his union with Christiane had in some measure set him at odds with society, as little that with her—however dear she was—he could not know the happiness born of community of soul that her influence on August could not be the ripening and elevating influence exercised by an intellectual mother on her son, but love and integrity and manliness forbade that the least thought of dissolving their union should cross his mind. On the contrary he felt a strong impulsion to do all that could improve her position, even to seize opportunity and make his peace with offended morality by a legal marriage. In a letter of February 1 1801 to his mother he says—

How good and careful and loving my dear little one has shown herself you will imagine I cannot praise her unwearied activity enough August also has been very good and the two on my re-entry into life give me much joy¹ The duty of procuring for August legal recognition as his son and of gaining the boy's confidence and friendship by companionship in excursions was felt by Goethe

By February 7 1801 the productive impatience had begun on that day he turned again to *Finst*. On February 11 Goethe sent his carriage for Schiller and had the rare pleasure of hearing him read the first three acts of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. He was soon again concerned in the affairs of the Theatre and the building of the Castle. He went over the part of Amenaide with Caroline Jagemann in his own room and on February 20 conducted in person the rehearsal of *Tancrède* at the theatre. The affairs of the stage were indeed soon to be a cause of great annoyance. First in the beginning of March 1801 there was a quarrel between Fraulein Jagemann and *Capellmeister* Kranz about the music

¹ Robert Keil *Fran Rath* S 341 (In this letter Goethe mentions that his illness had been long coming on he ought to have gone to a watering place in the summer of 1800)—TR

of *Don Giovanni*, which ended in the dismissal of Kranz, a little later there was a quarrel between Fraulein Jagemann and Frau Vohs, one of whose side results was to compel Goethe to maintain against the Duchess Luise the authority of the Direction of the Theatre, indeed Charlotte Schiller, who with some other ladies was furious on the Duchess's side, almost managed to bring Goethe and Schiller into conflict. This was avoided by Goethe's self-command, remarkable as exercised in spite of an irritability that clung to him after his illness, for which neither the Duchess nor Charlotte Schiller made any allowance in their acts.

On March 25, 1801, Goethe went with Christiane and August to Oberrossla, intending but a week's stay, though it grew longer. He had an unpleasant enough matter to settle—the eviction of a thristless, non-ptying tenant. Yet the days spent in the open air, the dealing with the common things of country life, made the time in this pleasant spring residence enjoyable. Plenty of visits relieved the quiet of the place. And work at *Faust* proceeded. Only in response to the repeated wish of the Duke, who had a good deal to talk over with him, did he return after a three weeks' stay.¹ On April 15 it happened that Schiller finished *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, he came to see Goethe in the evening, and soon after sent him the manuscript of the play. Goethe returned the manuscript on April 20 with warm praise. He now ventured to go out in Christiane's company, and at a dinner which he gave to the *Hofmarschallin* Countess Egloffstein, and the Duchess's Maids of Honour, Christiane received the guests.² Goethe stayed only ten days in Weimar, then hurried back to Oberrossla, and at length got rid of the old tenant, but as two months would elapse ere the coming of the new tenant there

¹ On April 15, 1801.—TR

² See Duntzer's *Charlotte von Stein*, II. 139.—TR

were many things to be looked after. He found the temptation to lay down a walk during this delay too strong to resist hitherto no dry footing in wet weather no shade in sunny weather had been available, and the enterprise called forth in him the old Park love of trifling in winding paths in tiny sociable nooks and led him further than he had intended so delaying a little his return to Weimar¹. During this absence Goethe was annoyed to hear how the Duke out of consideration for his mistress, Caroline Jagemann prevented Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* from being acted on the Weimar stage.

Goethe returned to Weimar probably about the close of the first week of May 1801. A good deal of his time was now taken up in arranging about the building of the Castle with Professor Gentz from Berlin and in looking after the new improvements in the Park of Weimar. And he procured the legitimation of August, in whose companionship being urged by his friends and by his physician he started on June 5 1801 for the Pyrmont Baths.² August's companionship brought the same kind of delight as Fritz Stein's and August Herder's on former occasions and he observed with joy how the boy himself was profiting. In Göttingen Goethe derived great pleasure from the sympathy of the students who assembled in front of the inn and cheered him and a deputation came asking permission to visit him in Weimar at Michaelmas. He spent several days full of instruction and interest in Cottingen and on June 12 left for Lymont. There he was rendered unfit for work by the strong action of

¹ Goethe to Schiller April 8 1801 *Tag und Jahres Hefte* 1801
—TR

² Der Herzog fürchtete wohl besonders die Spottreden welche man auf diese *Jungfrau* machen werde die mit ihm in so vertraulichem Verhältnisse lebte —Dritter Goethe und Karl August 1801 367 9 —TR

³ Of the trip that follows Goethe gives a more than ordinarily full account in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for 1801 —TR

the Pyrmont cure, he even found it hard to work on the Theory of Colour. On July 9 Karl August arrived, ailing exceedingly, his feverish excitement rendered intercourse with him difficult. Thus Goethe looked forward with pleasure to departure from Pyrmont, which took place on July 17, 1801, and the happiness of the four weeks that he spent in Gottingen was heightened by contrast. The whole *Corpus Academicum* streamed in upon him. His main object—collection of details for the History of the Theory of Colour—was fully attained, and his old love for osteology and botany found nourishment, while August became an enthusiastic student of mineralogy.¹ Goethe and August left Gottingen on August 14, 1801. At Cassel Christiane and Heinrich Meyer joined them, and on August 21 all left Cassel together, but Goethe alone arrived in Gotha. There he spent some days of friendly intercourse in a strictly private circle in the charming summer residence of Prince August, nor was the celebration of his birthday forgotten.

Cured in mind and body, he returned to Weimar on August 30, 1801. He found there the architect Rabe, who had undertaken to conduct the building of the Castle. Now that two men like Gentz and Rabe co-operated in this difficult work, Goethe felt at length some ease of mind on a subject which had long been a trouble to him. The building proceeded, under the guidance of Rabe, according to a design once for all fixed on as best adapted to the needful ends. The pieces competing for the Art Prize were hung in two rooms at the theatre, and, with some pieces by old masters, made a very interesting Exhibition, it was on this occasion

¹ Goethe tells in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* how in Gottingen they were annoyed by the barking of a crowd of dogs at night. Everything missile was laid hold on, and many an ammonite that August had brought with toil from the Hainberg flew from their windows.—TR

possible to raise the prices and yet secure a large recourse of visitors A series of representations by the famed actress Madame Unzelmann having been arranged to begin on September 21 1801 Goethe was very busy for a while with the preparations for them and for Madame Unzelmann's receptions in society during her stay and the personal presence of the actress laid no less a claim upon his time This visit had the best formative influence on the Weimar audience and the Weimar actors

On October 8 1801 Goethe's friend old *Hofrath* Buttner died in Jena, and his library now became the property of the University¹ The task of putting in order this library and the papers of Buttner fell to Goethe whom we find going to Jena on the matter on October 18 the celebration of the Duchess Amalia's birthday on October 4 drawing him back to Weimar only for a short time In the cheerful spirits of this interval in Weimar he arranged for the assembly of an evening circle at his house every second Wednesday in which thirteen persons beside himself should take part seven ladies and six men The standing members of the society were the Countess von Egloffstein (who was Goethe's partner) Schiller and Lotte Schiller's brother in law von Wolzogen and his wife Amalia von Imhof the Maids of Honour Fraulein von Gochhausen and Fraulein von Wolfskeel Voigt Meyer and Captain von Egloffstein When Goethe was in Jena he saw a good deal of his young nephew Schlosser² a student there "My brother in law's son seems a worthy son of his father [now two years dead] it appears to me that he has a good direct

¹ See vol page 4 3 —TR.

Goethe's first visit to Jena in 1801 —TR

² This lad was not Goethe's nephew properly speaking He was the son of J G Schlosser by his second wife Johanna Fahlmer His name was Eduard He died in 1807 —TR

character, and takes pleasure in actual experience"¹ Besides this young Schlosser, his two cousins, the sons of Hieronymus Schlosser,² were studying in Jena. "The youngest son of the Sheriff Schlosser is a little *enragé* for the newest philosophy, and that with so much intellect, heart, and character (*Geist Herz und Sinn*), that Schelling and I are struck with wonder." Two sons of Voss completed "one of the strongest young groups that I have ever known" One of the Vosses seemed to Goethe somewhat overstrained (*überspannt*), the other somewhat obscure (*dunkel*) Goethe returned to Weimar finally on November 10, Schiller's birthday On the following evening the first of the meetings of their circle or *Kranzchen* took place,³ Goethe had composed for it the burlesque *Stiftungslied*, in which the popular manner is admirably caught The Duke, the Princes, and the Princess were invited, but their presence did not chill the meeting all went merrily The measles prevalent in Weimar prevented the second meeting from being held on the appointed day On November 28, 1801, Lessing's *Nathan*, as fitted for the stage by Schiller, was presented, and made a deep and splendid impression Since it was Goethe's desire to cultivate audience and actors by habituating them to all art forms, he now ventured on the *Ion* of A W Schlegel, a drama in the antique style On December 1 Schiller's household was attacked by the measles, and not until December 14 can Schiller propose a walk to Goethe The rehearsals of *Ion* were superintended with great care by

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, November 23, 1801 From the same letter are derived the two quotations following —TR

² Vol 1 page 162 The names of these two sons were—the elder Fritz, the younger Christian With Fritz Schlosser Goethe was afterwards on particularly friendly terms —TR

³ *Kranzchen* literally means a garland *Stiftungslied* = a poem for the foundation of an institution See Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder*, "Was gehst du, schone Nachbarin, Im Garten so allein?"—TR

Goethe He was, besides occupied with a report on the prize pieces and in fixing the prize theme for the coming year As the *Propylaeen* had ceased, the communications to the public on the subject would in future appear in the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* It was found possible to offer a prize twice as large as last year's Goethe found himself in the mood for poetic labour also, notwithstanding December weather the first act of *Eugenie*, still a secret from every one was now completed. On December 27 Schiller finished the adaptation of Gozzi's *Turandot* which was to be the birthday piece of the Duchess Luise yet illness prevented him from being present at the second *Kranzchen* on New Year's Eve Goethe composed for this *Kranzchen* a beautiful lyric on the change of year which with all its gaiety and rapid movement, is full of thought and suggestion¹

Very cheerly did Goethe begin the second year of the nineteenth century To the disgust of Charlotte von Stein he went out sleighing with Christiane On great sleighing parties he usually offered the place at his side to some noble lady Ion was acted on January and aroused loud outcry on the ground of immorality Bottiger who bore a grudge against the brothers Schlegel wrote an article for the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* in which the representation was praised but the bitterest remarks made about the piece and its author When Goethe got word of this the number of the *Journal* not being yet published he procured from the editor the sheet containing Bottiger's article and having read it he declared that if it were published he should go straight to the Duke

¹ See in Goethe's *Gesammelte Lieder* the poem *Zwischen dem Alten Zwischen dem Neuen* —TR

Charlotte von Stein writes to Fitz January 7 1805 — Gestern fuhr er mit seiner Hausmamsell auf der Schlitten See Duntzer *Charlotte von Stein* II 145 —TR

and resign the direction of the Weimar Theatre. He added that he was ready to supply reports of the theatre himself. The article was not published. Most of the evenings were spent with Schiller, (who was one of those hostile to Schlegel and *Ion*) Before going (Jan 17) to Jena he committed the superintendence of the rehearsals to Schiller, and asked him for a stage adaptation of *Iphigenie*.

The main cause of his visit to Jena was the Buttner Library. The introduction of order into this "dreadful chaos"¹ was rendered more difficult by the Duke's having made over Buttner's house without further ceremony to the new Commandant, von Hendrich. Goethe now meant to carry out an earlier design of his, a general catalogue of the Weimar Library and of the two libraries at Jena.² He began an exposition of the principles on which the Weimar Theatre was conducted for the *Journal des Luxus*, and he wrote the beautiful stanzas³ addressed to the Duchess to be spoken at the pageant which was to be given under his management on the Birthday *Redoute*. He returned to Weimar on January 28, 1802, and on that day conducted the final rehearsal of *Turandot*. On the following evening, Friday, January 29, the Birthday *Redoute* and the pageant took place. To the horror of the polite society which despised and hated Christiane, "Amor" in the pageant was personated by August Goethe, who handed to the Duchess the stanzas written by his father, having been borne through the hall by "Momus" and "Satyr". The Hereditary Prince represented "Epos," the Princess Caroline, "Fama," held a garland.

¹ Goethe to Schiller, January 22, 1802. See also Goethe's letters to Voigt on the subject. In one he writes that "the most fluent tongue and the most skilful pen are not able to describe the condition in which we found these rooms." See also the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802.—TR

² Goethe to Schiller, December 9, 1797, January 19, 1802.—TR

³ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi 234.—TR

above the head of 'Epos. When the pageant was over the Princess sought out Goethe and presented the garland to him. The angry eyes of the fine ladies did not prevent poor Christiane, who was present from a hearty childish enjoyment of the fine sights. On the Duchess's birthday, January 30 180 Turandot was presented and proved very successful; it was repeated on February 1 when to add to the interest the riddles propounded by the Chinese Princess were new.

The tiresome building of the Castle gave Goethe some trouble at this time. But a more important matter was the breach with Kotzebue. Kotzebue's piece *Die Deutschen Kleinstadter* was to be played in Weimar, but Goethe had required that first a number of passages should be omitted which seemed to him unsuited to Weimar. Kotzebue would not consent and strange enough I called on Schiller to take his part. But Schiller, having read the piece declared his opinion to concur with Goethe's. Then Kotzebue agreed to the larger number of alterations, but took his final stand upon the maintenance intact of certain five passages objected to by Goethe. Weimar should not have the play at all otherwise. But Goethe was not the man to yield to defiance what he had not yielded to persuasion, and so Weimar had not the play and Kotzebue became an enemy.

The reader will remember how much a new theatre was needed at Lauchstedt.¹ It was resolved to begin it this year and the necessary preparations were entered on. The *Kran-chen* had been closed by Goethe who wished to draw back into himself again. When asked why he closed them he replied Sprecht ich sei der Bar.

Goethe returned to Jena about the 8th of February. Al-

¹ See p. 155 — TR.

² Say I am the Bear Cp vol 1 pp 69 287 88 See Dntzer Goethe's *lyrische Gedichte erlaubt* 1 78 — TR.

though the difficult task of getting the Büttner Library into order laid heavy claim on his time, the stay in Jena offered him a good deal of pleasure Nay, he even felt inspired to some lyrics¹ which flowed forth fresh and fair and perfect as of old An especial pleasure was his bright delightful alliance with Professor Hufeland's² wife, a lover of singing Another friend of Goethe's was Silvie von Ziegesar, a charming girl of sixteen, who lived in Drakendorf, not far from Jena. After some hesitation Goethe yielded to his desire to give a *Kranzchen* of farewell in honour of the Hereditary Prince, who was about to travel to Paris accompanied by the lately appointed *Gheimerath* von Wolzogen For this purpose he returned to Weimar The *Kranzchen*, at which the Hereditary Prince and the Princess Caroline were present, was held on February 22, 1802 Two of Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder* and a poem of farewell, composed by Schiller, were sung

Goethe spent the end of February in Weimar During this time he had a visit which gave him great pleasure For some years he had been on friendly terms with Karl Friedrich Zelter of Berlin, who had composed several things for him Zelter, now forty-three, was a Master Mason and Director of the Singing Academy Zelter wore short black silk breeches, silk stockings, and on his shoes great silver buckles He combined a solid and rugged independence with tenderness of feeling³ Goethe felt much attracted, even spectacles, usually so repellent to him, were in Zelter a venial fault He

¹ Goethe to Schiller, February 19, 1802 The lyrics probably were *Tischlied*, and *Generalbeichte* See the *Gesellige Lieder* It was at this time too that Goethe began *Hochzeithied* See the *Balladen* Duntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, I 278-9 —TR

² This was the Jurist Gotthlieb Hufeland, not the professor of medicine Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, who had been called to Berlin —TR

³ See Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, December 4, 1823 —(the end) As to Zelter's spectacles see April 5, 1830 —TR

made Zelter come and stay in his house, and thus learned a good deal and gave him several of his songs to compose As for Zelter he was transported he writes of his visit — I thank God daily on the knees of my heart that I have seen your face at last Remembrance of those days will only cease when my memory ceases A new spirit has been waked in me by contact with you, and if I have produced or shall produce anything worthy of the Muses I know that it is a gift and whence it comes

Kotzebue, who had long been trying to discredit Goethe's Wednesday evening *Kran chen* by a more brilliant and showy one held on Thursdays now resolved to play what he thought a trump-card against the poet whom he hated envying his lofty genius and his stable power If all went indeed according to Kotzebue's hope a breach between Schiller and Goethe would be effected He organised a *fête* to celebrate Schiller's Name Day, March 5 180¹ There should be recitations from Schiller's works in the Town Hall of Weimar terminating with *Das Lied von der Glocke* at the end of which the Master Bell founder personated by Kotzebue himself should strike the mould of the bell and disclose Dannecker's bust of Schiller Even for the Countess von Egloffstein and Amalia von Imhof the temptation to show off was too strong Many preparations were made a great deal of trouble taken and after all the scheme broke down miserably on the refusal of the *Bürgermeister* to lend the Town Hall which had lately been fitted up with new decorations and a new platform Goethe was meanwhile spending pleasant days in Jena whither he had gone early in March and Schiller who filled his place at the rehearsals held completely aloof from the honours that were meant to betray

¹ Falk Ludenus and Goethe himself have left accounts of the scheme and its results See the *Tag und Jahr Hft* for 1802 and Bedermann's note (Hempel's *Goethe* xxvii 408 9) — TR.

During a short interval spent in Weimar Goethe asked Herder to confirm August in the boy's own home Herder consenting, Goethe wrote a letter of warm thanks to his old friend who is so good as to introduce August into the Christian community by a more liberal way than precedent authorises August, accompanied by his tutor, shall present himself to Herder¹ Immediately after this Goethe returned to Jena, taking with him his brother-in-law Vulpius, who had been appointed library-amanuensis All went well with Goethe this time in Jena , he felt the lyric stir and thrill again,² and the poems that he wrote were like the fresh blossoms of the spring On May 15, 1802, he returned to be present at *Iphigenie*, which Schiller had prepared for the theatre The piece made a deep and noble impression Goethe, with that theory in mind that it is well to accustom actors and spectators to every form of the drama, had ere this resolved on a very bold step Friedrich Schlegel's tragedy *Alarcos* is a strange mixture of the antique and romantic, Greek trimeters and Spanish assonances, iambics and trochaics, rhymed and unrhymed verse This play Goethe resolved to bring on the Weimar stage, though Schiller expressed doubt, and Goethe

¹ Goethe to Herder, Weimar, April 26, 1802 —TR

² Goethe to Schiller, May 4, 1802 —Probably the lyrics written at this time were *Fruhlingsorakel*—“Du prophet'scher Vogel Du, Bluthensänger, O Coucou !” and *Bergschloss* —

Da droben auf jenem Berge
Da steht ein altes Schloss,
Wo hinter Thoren und Thuren
Sonst lauerten Ritter und Ross

See Duntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, 1 279, (where read Lieder 75, not Lieder 15) See in Mr Hutton's Essay on Goethe comment on this poem *Bergschloss* and a translation *Geistesgruss*, composed on the voyage down the Lahn in 1774, is next to *Bergschloss* in the arrangement of the *Lieder* —TR

agreed with him that the play was full of faults. It was a bold undertaking of the master who cared little about external success or failure but who was resolved on carrying out a strong will made stronger by having hitherto overborne all opposition. Goethe had at this time but one cause of anxiety —Christiane was very poorly.¹

Goethe went about May 20 1801 to Lauchstedt for a week and found the building of the new theatre progressing. After he had returned *Alarcos* was given (May 29) and notwithstanding the most careful and finished acting the piece was a complete failure. Untroubled by this Goethe went a week later (on June 6, 1802) to Jena, to compose the opening piece for the Lauchstedt Theatre, and returned with the piece finished on the morning of June 13 the day on which August was confirmed.

After a short stay in Weimar Goethe went to Lauchstedt³ accompanied by Christiane and August, and on Sunday June 27⁴ 1802 the new theatre was opened. Ludenus tells how when he arrived in Lauchstedt at seven o'clock in the morning he saw Goethe in a blue overcoat in front of the theatre. Goethe was glad that Ludenus had accepted his invitation to

¹ See in the book *Freund haftliche Briefe zu Goethe und seiner Frau an Nikolaus Meyer* & the affecting letter of Christiane to Nikolaus Meyer at the time Meyer had been in Weimar again during January and February 1801 —TR

This is the occasion on which Goethe is related to have stood up and said Let no one laugh! —TR

³ He left soon after the Duke's departure which took place on June 20 1802 Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August* II 403 —TR

⁴ Goethe in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* says June 26 1801 This is a mistake according to Duntzer See *Goethe und Karl August* II 403. Ludenus mentions that the day was Sunday June 26 was a Saturday (There is however some evidence in favour of June 26 See Biedermann's note to the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for 1802 Hempel *Goeth* xxvii 413) —TR

be present at the opening performance, and conducted him into the theatre immediately. To the astonishment of Ludecus, the fitting up of the interior was in active progress, and all appeared to be in indescribable confusion. Ludecus exclaimed in surprise "And here it is proposed to act a play to-night?" To which Goethe triumphantly answered "Here a play shall be acted to-night!" At six in the evening a trumpet sounded to give notice of the performance. The theatre could hold one thousand spectators, there were about eight hundred present. At the close of the opening piece, *Was wir bringen*, the students from Halle University cried "Long live the greatest Master of Art, Goethe!" To this performance Goethe had invited Reichardt (who had visited him lately) and the philologist Friedrich August Wolf.

Accompanied by Wolf, Christiane, and August, Goethe went after a while to Halle,¹ where he and his made the acquaintance of most of the professors. Here August learned to swim. To Reichardt, in Giebichenstein, near Halle, a pleasant visit was paid by the whole family. Goethe found many objects of attraction to prolong his stay in the university city, but Christiane and August returned after a few days to gay Lauchstedt, to use the baths and enjoy life. Christiane's greatest pleasure was dancing, and there were innumerable hops and balls in Lauchstedt.² On July 25, 1802, Goethe returned to Weimar.

The affairs of the library drew him very soon (August 3, 1802) to Jena. Here, surrounded by museums and all those influences which in former years had led him to the natural

¹ About July 12, 1802 Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 405

—TR

² See Christiane's second letter to Nikolaus Meyer. She made the acquaintance of Reichardt's and Wolf's daughters, and was treated by all with great friendliness —TR

sciences the old interest in them revived, and he studied with special attention Comparative Anatomy and the Metamorphosis of Insects then the Theory of Colour occupied him and the remarkable *Appendix* for the new edition of his translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*¹ He enjoyed constant delightful and helpful intercourse with the families of the bookseller Frommann the theologian Paulus the jurist Hufeland the anatomist Loder and others The Art Exhibition less brilliant this year than in other years drew him back to Weimar at length² On September 25 1802, the Weimar Theatre began its season with the piece played at the opening of Lauchstedt Theatre, *Was wir bringen* A few days later Professor Batsch of Jena died unexpectedly, his death was a great loss to the Botanic Gardens and to Goethe On a short visit to Jena caused by this incident Goethe had the friendliest meeting with Voss who shortly before had settled in Jena

Another loss at this time was that of the daily companion ship of Heinrich Meyer who, intending to marry at Christmas left Goethes house for one of his own August inherited Meyers room, and could now display his collections (chiefly of coins and minerals) to the best advantage Schillers children and he were the best friends, they had even instituted an Order among themselves, the insignia of which were sometimes awarded to grown up people During November 1802 Goethe revised that remarkable cluster of *Gesellige Lieder*

¹ The first edition in book form of this translation was published in 1798 That with the *Appendix* in 1803 —TR

² See in Dintzlers *Goethe und Karl August* II 411 414 the account of the visit of the sculptor Schadow to Weimar —TR.

³ Probably after August 10 and before August 3 1802 Dintzler *Goethe und Karl August* II 409 On August 23 Corona Schroter died at Ilmenau —TR

which had sprung up during the two past years, and worked on the usual annual report on the prize pieces, but it was a time of creative activity also, the second act of *Eugenie* was forming. He drew back from the Court at this period. A Court attempt to draw Schiller into nearer relations was not successful, though with that end in mind a diploma of nobility for him was procured in Vienna.

It was at this time that Herder complained to the Duke of the injury done to the *Gymnasium* by the withdrawal of the children who served as a chorus at the public representations of operas and the numerous rehearsals. Goethe could only reply that without the aid from the children no opera was possible, and that already it was arranged to have the rehearsals at other than the school hours. He could not procure a regular chorus when needed, and there was not money to pay for the institution of choristers. This was a period of deeper anxiety on a graver subject, Christiane's confinement was approaching. Goethe was about to go to Jena for the sake of intercourse with Voss, when Christiane bore a daughter.¹ On the following day, to Goethe's bitter sorrow, the infant died. This was the fourth little comer that had suddenly departed after the briefest stay, and her coming had given him such joy!² If the passionate outbreak of his grief lasted but a short time, the bereavement worked the more enduring inward effects².

During the first quarter of the New Year 1803, Goethe, unwell, unstrung, and dejected about his position in Weimar, remained shut up indoors most of his time. Such sad quarantines were henceforward frequent with him, in them while living entirely to himself, to his own thoughts and emotions,

¹ December 18, 1802 Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II 159 —TR

² Schiller showed great sympathy with Christiane on this occasion. See Goethe to Schiller, December 19, 1802 —TR

he collected himself for renewed living in the world. The retirement of which we are now speaking was used in bringing to completion *Eugenie*, a piece which rose from the depth of his heart for in it the primary effort was to set forth an after throbbing grief like his own—the grief of a father who has lost his daughter. But he had many other employments thus he was still working on the *Appendix* to the *Life of Cellini* and he spent time in arranging a collection of coins which were the result of his interest in Cellini. During the beginning of this quarantine¹ Goethe would only receive strangers of real eminence. Thus the famous discoverer in acoustic E F Chladni visited him and after his usual fashion he absorbed what Chladni had to give and moulded it anew, beside gaining positive immediate furtherance as to his Theory of Colour since there are many senses in which the relations of sounds and colours may be said to cross each other². The gladdening influence of music was not forgotten. In December 1801 Zelter had thrown out a hope of visiting Weimar in the beginning of February 1803 and Goethe looked forward to this visit with much pleasure but the friends were after all, disappointed. (Beside the delight of personal intercourse with Zelter, Goethe had wished to ask him questions about the organisation of the opera and the orchestra in Weimar, now about to be carried out on a scale intended rather to meet future than present needs³) Even Schiller, having to ~~lose~~ misuse time and strength did not come to Goethe though he visited the theatre and the *Aedoule*. At Goethe's request Schiller sent him a transcript of *Die Braut von Messina*.

¹ Schiller to Goethe [end of January] 1803 —Tr.

Goethe to Schiller January 6 1803 —Tr.

² Goethe to Zelter March 10 1803 *Briefwechsel zu ... Zelter in den Jahren 1796-1832 Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Reimer (Berlin 1833)* 4 six volumes) —Tr.

February 5, 1803, and on the day after he at length visited him, when the play was thoroughly talked over. We find the Duke somewhat later sending Goethe a number of the new paper of Kotzebue and Merkel, *Der Freimüthige*, with the remark —“We must take the thing in between us all in order to remain *au courant* of the impertinences.” The shabby attacks of the superficial Kotzebue, (whom the Berlin Academy of Sciences had just admitted to the Class of Belles Lettres), did not tend to dispel Goethe’s depression. The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, it is true, took up his part, still he was embittered. He did not permit the matter to turn him aside in his path, only in silence he revenged himself with some satirical verse¹.

Henceforward he occasionally saw a small assembly at his own house, and had the actors to him often there. On March 10, 1803, he conducted a rehearsal of Schiller’s *Bräut von Messina*, and then he had a reading rehearsal of his own *Eugenie*. He cautioned the actors not to betray anything of the substance of the piece. All that even Schiller knew was the name, and what memoirs had been worked on. On March 19, 1803, Goethe left his retreat in order to be present at the performance of *Die Bräut von Messina*,² but afterwards shut himself obstinately from the world again,³ only receiving

¹ See *Ultimatum*, Hempel’s *Goethe*, iii 300. There is an important passage at the end of Christiane’s letter to Nikolaus Meyer, February 7, 1803, which helps us to see how Goethe felt about personal attacks on himself. Duntzer (*Goethe und Karl August*, ii 426) hears Goethe’s own voice in this passage.—TR.

² Crabb Robinson was at this performance. He by mistake places it on the 20th. The Jena students cheered for Schiller, though it was contrary to the rules of the Weimar Theatre to express applause by cheering. Clapping alone was permissible.—TR.

³ See the important evidence of his state at this time in Christiane’s letter to Nikolaus Meyer, April, 21, 1803.—TR.

Schiller a few men of eminence, and his actors, besides that he continued to give occasional little concerts To one of these on March 28 1803 we find the lately returned Hereditary Prince invited.

On April 2, 1803 *Eugenie* was acted Goethe was not present. The play a model of simple noble style made a beautiful impression Schiller wrote to Iffland that it was a piece of a lofty moving kind and that with its great female *debut* part it could not fail to draw on the German stage¹

Goethe's depression had not yet departed and he continued for some time his retired indoor life It is probable that he was present when on the 3d of April 1803 Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* was at length acted on the Weimar stage we find him after this in intercourse with society and visiting the Duchess Amalia On May 1 the betrothal of the Maid of Honour of the Duchess Fraulein von Wolfskeel took place For the day which happened to be also her birthday Goethe wrote a bright little poem² Of official duties those which beside the theatre occupied him during the period just considered were the fitting up of the Castle and the choice of a successor to Professor Batsch The arrival, expected to take place in the late autumn of 1803 of

¹ See Duntze's *Goethe und Karl August* II 433 434 This part Fraulein Jagemann played with remarkable power Crabb Robinson complimented her once on it and she said — If I played the part well it was by chance for I do not understand the character —TR.

² It will be remembered that in April 1801 Karl August had been a hindrance to its being acted in Weimar See p 193 —TR

³ *Magisches Netz* Sind es Kämpe die ich sehe? Varnhagen's explanation is that Goethe had found Fraulein Wolfskeel secretly knitting a vest for her betrothed Goethe did not know of her betrothal and was afterwards surprised to see the vest a coat on I W von Fritsch (The five boys and girls are the fingers of the two hands) But Varnhagen's story is not quite correct See Duntze's *Goethe's Lyrische Gedichte* III 358 —TR

the Russian Princess, the bride of the future Duke of Weimar, made a great improvement in the Theatre desirable, especially as to opera. Schiller and Goethe talked over the plan of a periodical, *Das Deutsche Theater*, to contain noteworthy stage-versions of plays. Goethe unhappily undertook an adaptation of *Gotz von Berlichingen*.

On May 13, 1803, Goethe, accompanied by August, went to Jena,¹ intending there to revise his *Gesellige Lieder* and *Eugenie*, and to work at the Theory of Colour. He had pleasant friendly intercourse with Voss, to whom he submitted *Eugenie*, but the rigid metrist showed poor judgment in dealing with the poem, and Goethe came but once to him on the matter. And a course of daily lessons which Voss began to give August did away like a stream in the sand.² Goethe, during this stay in Jena, had the good fortune to get rid of his property at Oberrossla by selling it to the man who had been his tenant. The house there in which he spent so many happy and significant hours has long since disappeared. He returned on May 29, 1803, to Weimar, and had a delightful fortnight's visit from Zelter. After this he accompanied Christiane to Lauchstedt, and leaving her there went on to Halle, whence, after a short stay, he returned to Weimar.

¹ During this visit it was that Goethe saw Herder for the last time. Herder, after some very pleasant talk, made a displeasing remark about *Eugenie*, on which a dreadful emotion seized Goethe. "I looked at him, made no reply, and the many years of our intercourse terrified me in this symbol most seriously." See Goethe's *Biographische Erzählnüthen*. —TR

² But Goethe was on very pleasant terms with the Vosses. One day he found Frau Voss in the garden working at her flower borders. He chatted pleasantly about her work and advised her to get hirby things, and she remarked that they were such strangers in Jena that they did not know where to get them. Then Voss and Goethe walked up and down chatting while Frau Voss worked on. A few days later, when the Vosses came back in the evening from a party, they found all the borders dainty and neat, and everywhere summer flowers planted. —TR

Meanwhile all was not well with the University of Jena. Some of her best professors were being drawn from her by the brilliant prizes offered in other universities. And when on July 1 1803 Goethe again betook himself to Jena for some days his mind was occupied in considering how best to fill up the vacancies and how to guard against such losses in future. Unhappily the Duke was now in a mood of disgust with the University especially because he had not means to offer salaries as high as those given to professors by other German states. The Weimar Theatre had a real piece of good fortune at this time. On July 1 1803 a young Augsburger Pius Alexander Wolff offered himself as an actor to Goethe of whom both as a poet and as a manager of the theatre he was an enthusiastic admirer. Wolff was very young, only turned twenty. From Augsburg with Wolff came Gruner another young man who wished to be an actor. It afterwards turned out that he had not patience enough to submit long to Goethe's exact and thorough training. Shortly before a third young actor named Grümmer had come to Weimar. As Goethe considered all three to possess good powers he gave them a special series of careful lessons before the return of the company absent in Lauchstedt.

On August 1 1803 the new Castle which during fifteen years had cost Goethe so much anxiety and trouble was at length occupied by the ducal family. But a new and much worse source of anxiety and annoyance was prepared for him when Kotzebue's *Freimuthiger* was able to announce with malicious delight that the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* with its editor C G Schutz was about to remove from Jena to Halle. So great a loss to Jena could not be contemplated by Goethe without an endeavour to make it good and he accordingly set to work and founded a new magazine in Jena. And this magazine succeeded, though the plan had been looked on as

hopeless by Schiller and others. The success was indeed purchased by a really wonderful exertion of Goethe's powers, which might perhaps have been otherwise used to better purpose. Still, beside the great profit to Jena University and to literature, there was much for himself in this labour. On his birthday, August 28, 1803, the first conference took place with Professor Eichstadt, who had undertaken the editing of the new magazine, and not until, after three years' existence, its continuance was assured, did Goethe retire to some extent from active co-operation¹.

An important addition to the library building of Weimar was now begun, and the plan of a new *Schiesshaus*² carefully considered. Meanwhile Goethe's Berlin opponents—one of whom was the sculptor Schadow, a partisan of Kotzebue's and an enemy to the Ideal tendency—had succeeded in having *Eugenie* regularly damned in the Prussian National Theatre.³ And this while Fichte declared the play to be Goethe's masterpiece, and could not adequately admire it. Malice had done its work, though Berlin, before the year was over, tried to expiate the fault by giving a good reception to the play.⁴ Schiller meanwhile enjoyed high honour as a dramatist—the young king of Sweden who visited the Court of Weimar about this time (August 1803), had *Wallenstein* acted at his

¹ Woldemar Freiherr von Biedermann has published *Goethe's Briefe an Eichstadt*, (Hempel, Berlin, 1872), with a preface and notes. A good notion of Goethe's amazing labours may be gained from this book. The new magazine was called the *Jenische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. —TR

² Literally "Shooting House." House whence game are shot, being driven up by beaters.—TR

³ Schadow had hired and placed hooters, we learn from a letter of Fichte's Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 444.—TR

⁴ Zelter, writing on October 24, 1803, tells Goethe that *Die natürliche Tochter* had been played for the third time on October 22, and had had good applause.—TR

special desire and when going away sent the poet a diamond ring. No shadow of jealousy marred Goethe's pleasure in his friend's success though at times his own mishap depressed him.

The visit which Goethe had planned¹ to pay to Frankfurt and his mother in the year 1803, had proved impracticable. A couple of years earlier when a relative of J G Schlosser (who died in 1799) wished Frau Ajia to be put under guardian ship because she was spending too much Goethe saved her. She had the right he declared to spend all her property away if she desired since she had suffered so long and with such noble patience under a weary lot. He whose affection was the dearest of her treasures was not one to see her wounded by her power of giving away being limited or by any restraint on her careless joyous innocent life.

In the beginning of September, 1803, Goethe had a piece of good fortune. Fernow² who had been offered a professorship in Jena came from Rome to take it up and with him came Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer a native of Glatz then in his thirtieth year. Riemer was an excellent philologist in the school of Wolf. He had been tutor in the house of Wilhelm von Humboldt and now entered Goethe's house in the same capacity. Nothing could have been more accordant with Riemer's desire than a life beneath the influence of such a spirit and though Goethe often dictated to him as a secretary Riemer had plenty of time for his own purposes.

After the return of the actors from Lauchstedt the class of three which Goethe had been instructing in theatrical

¹ Kel. *Frau Rath* S. 346 —TR

² In 1800 See Duntzer *Frauenblätter als Goethe's Jagdzeit* S. 551 As to J G Schlosser's death see p. 178 (note) —TR

³ Fe now's specialty was the philosophy of art —TR

delivery widened to a whole dozen¹ Meantime, while Goethe had lost interest in continuing *Eugenie*, Schiller had found a new dramatic material in *Wilhelm Tell*. The two poets laboured very diligently together in preparing a representation of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, which took place on October 1, 1803, was very successful, and was repeated on October 8. Also Schiller's adaptation from the French, *Der Parasit*, was acted about this time with the best result, the Duke especially being delighted with it.

During the closing months of the year 1803² we find Goethe frequently in Jena, where he shows particularly friendly interest in Voss, whom he hoped to gain for the University. In Jena Goethe wrote that delightful satiric poem on Kotzebue, *Der neue Alceinos*, which he of course kept secret. The remarkable volume *Der Geselligkeit gewidmeten Lieder*, which he had been preparing for the printer in May, had now appeared, though issued in pocket-book form, and in some instances giving the guitar accompaniment to the songs, it seems to have been hardly noticed by the public. The approaching appearance of the first number of the new *Literaturzeitung* filled Goethe with excitement. It was a difficult and critical business, he had to look after everything, from the general intellectual conception of the whole to the smallest details of typography³. Then he was at the same time preparing his report on the Art Exhibition, which included an essay on the work of Polygnotus. All this coming on him in the unkindly December weather taxed his powers severely,

¹ Goethe jotted down at this time a series of observations on the actor's art, which Eckermann put into form in 1824, and which are published in Goethe's works under the title *Regeln für Schauspieler* —TR

² Herder began to ail at this time, the final illness of his life was upon him —TR

³ Goethe to Schiller, December 13, 1803 —TR

and when he heard that Madame de Staél was expected in Weimar, he felt it altogether impossible to go thither to meet her and take part in society. Madame de Staél is welcome to Jena he remarks, give him but twenty four hours notice and part of Loder's house shall be ready for her she shall find homely fare she and Goethe will really meet and speak to each other better than they could in a drawing room.¹ Schiller spoke to the Duke, who wrote to Goethe (December 14 1803) approving of his staying in Jena and receiving the visit of Madame de Staél there but on December 18 the Duke sent a courier pressing him to come to Weimar where the great Frenchwoman had been setting everything in a whirl since her arrival on December 15. Goethe however, remained firm. But when Madame de Staél declared that she would visit Goethe in Jena on December 4 it seemed to him impolite to bring her over the bad road in winter for his sake alone, and he invited her to dine with him in his Weimar house on December 24 to meet the Schillers. On December 18 1803 in the evening Herder died. Frau von Imhof the sister of Charlotte von Stein had died at noon the day before. Goethe was agitated by these deaths and the bad weather and the other causes of depression seem to have produced a kind of nervous torture. In a letter of December 20 to Charlotte Schiller he says that he envies Herder when he hears that they are burying him.

Madame de Staél and the Schillers dined at Goethe's house on December 24 1803. Goethe was very friendly but did not at all yield his assent to the gifted Frenchwoman who conceived that she understood the great poet thoroughly and

¹ Goethe to Schiller Jena December 13 1803 —Tr.

² See *Crabb Robt et Dary* the year 1804 (vol 1 pp 177 8)

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² See *Crabb Robinson's Diary* the year 1804 (vol 1 pp 177 8)

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took upon her to give him counsel Yet his very opposition, sometimes frank and direct, sometimes mischievously turning and baffling, charmed her, she regularly fell in love with him, in spite of the “*bonne et belle rotundité*,” with which she roguishly taxed him,¹ undeterred by the fact that she did not want for plumpness herself Goethe paid her the return visit, but immediately after a violent cold brought from Jena confined him for weeks to his room,² so that personal intercourse with Madame de Staél ceased for the present On her way to Weimar she had visited Goethe’s mother, and had oppressed her extremely Goethe’s illness was lightened by a visit of some length from the philologist F A Wolf, who came from Halle at the close of the year 1803 The historian of Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, who arrived in Weimar on January 22, 1804, was also admitted to see Goethe The first act of *Wilhelm Tell*, which he read in the second week of January, called forth warm praise and congratulation

But Madame de Staél grew restless at being so long shut off from Goethe’s society , the notes that they exchanged were not enough for her On January 22, 1804, she wrote asking for an interview, and her request being granted, she came to see Goethe on the following morning, accompanied by her friend Benjamin Constant, who knew German well Noi did Goethe remain at all in the debt of the lady on this occasion, who, with all her polish, was “rude enough to the Hyperboreans, whose fine old pines and oaks, nevertheless, whose iron and

which she was justly vain, and said in an emphatic tone ‘Monsieur, je comprend tout ce qui mérite d’être compris , ce que je ne comprends n’est rien ’”—TR

¹ See Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 461 —TR

² Goethe observes in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* that the dear experience of 1801 ought to have made him more careful about residing in harsh winter weather in the old castle at Jena —TR

amber may be so well applied for both use and ornament¹ After the brilliant Frenchwoman he felt a desire for intercourse with intellectual German women So on January 4 he invited Charlotte von Stein and her niece Amelia (formerly von Imhof now married to Lieutenant von Helvig) to come and see his coins which they accordingly did Two days later Madame de Staél and Müller were together at Goethe's and the Duke came in when as Goethe tells Schiller the talk grew very merry and the plan of going through her translation of his poem *Der Fischer* was not carried out At this interview she is said to have brought him roundly to task for secluding himself so much and for being so reserved If she did make such an ill judged attack on his deliberately chosen plan of life a German retort to her French obtrusiveness was doubtless not lacking On the evening of January 7 Goethe was visited by Benjamin Constant and by Schiller Immediately after this he broke his quarantine though he continued to avoid the Court.

In the beginning of February 1804 Voss came with his wife to stay in Weimar Goethe had provided them with a suitable lodging not far from him and there was always the warmest welcome for them in his house So much did Goethe esteem Voss indeed that, in order to retain his services for Jena he ventured on an act not consonant with rigorous justice he gave to Voss's son Heinrich who had as yet done nothing to prove his teaching powers a new professorship which long earnestly advocated by Herder was now to be founded in the Weimar *Gymnasium* It was arranged that Heinrich should soon come and stay with Goethe and so make himself familiar by degrees with the requirements of his

¹ Goethe to Schiller January 23 1804 —TR

By Bottger who states that he derives his account from Müller See Dantzer *Goethe d A r l Augst* n 468 —TR.

new calling. During this time Schiller usually came over to Goethe's in the afternoons, and remained until evening.

On February 10, 1804, Heinrich Voss came to Goethe, and remained nine days, during which he acquired an extraordinary love and reverence for the great poet, whose interest in him was like that of a father. Every morning he spent a couple of hours with Goethe in his room, and in the evenings listened with delight while he poured forth his thoughts. Goethe's actors' class was now, it seems, merely an assembly on Sunday mornings to read poetry aloud. For the two Sundays on which Heinrich Voss was present (February 12 and 19) Goethe chose the elder Voss's idyll *Luisse*. On the evening of February 16, 1804, Madame de Staél and Benjamin Constant supped with Goethe without other company. There was a remarkable wit-combat on this occasion. Goethe pressed Madame de Staél so hard by his rejoinders that she was forced to take refuge in a skilful change of front.¹ Though Goethe would not visit Court while Madame de Staél stayed in Weimar, he was on one occasion at the Duchess Amalia's when she was present,² on February 23 he was her guest at dinner, on February 24 she visited him and lectured him about Schlegel's *Alarcos*, and he talked finely about Tragedy. When she was going he told her that August would call on her to-morrow, to ask an inscription for his new album. As yet the only other entries in this album were by Goethe and Schiller. On February 29, 1804, Madame de Staél left Weimar for Berlin. Goethe had given her letters of introduction to Zelter and to August Wilhelm Schlegel. He felt a glad sense of relief on the departure of this typical French *femme d'esprit*. Her importunity and obstinacy used to drive him into opposition, and often compelled him to carry the opposi-

¹ See Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 473-4 —Tr.

² See the account of this in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1804 —Tr.

tion to extremity, for otherwise he must either be silent or say plainly to her that such conflict could lead to no result

In mere joy that the *Strel* is gone Goethe has been for two consecutive days driving everywhere on a sleigh with his more congenial *Donna* writes Charlotte von Stein on March 8, 1804¹ The rehearsals of *Wilhelm Tell* and the needful preparations made Goethe very busy for a time The representations first on March 17 and then with some cutting down on March 19 1804 excited greater admiration and delight than any of Schiller's former plays Now Schiller felt that he was gaining mastery of the scenic art He had already attacked a new subject derived from the history of Russia

Yet he liked Weimar less every day and longed to find some other home while Goethe's strong attachment to the place strengthened as the years passed by, notwithstanding the many pains and burthens that they brought He was now suffering a great deal in an endeavour to adapt his *Got* for the stage However his spirits brightened towards the close of March 1804 Thus we find him inviting Charlotte von Stein to visit him every Thursday morning about eleven o'clock when he will show her and the friends whom she may bring some thing from his collection of objects of art Then there were concerts at his house every Sunday at these concerts he gave the preference to Zelter's melodies At the end of March young Voss again came for a considerable stay during which Goethe was even more amiable than before Goethe had secretly procured a doctor's diploma for the young fellow who himself tells of the kindly jest by which the burdensomeness of the moment of giving and receiving a benefit was in this instance lightened His appointment to the new professorship was now finally determined

¹ See Duntzer *Charlotte von Stein* i 195 —TR

See Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August* 479 —TR

From Berlin Madame de Staél wrote merrily to Goethe that she would soon return to Weimar for a three weeks' stay, in order to steal from him all that could be stolen. But news that her father was very ill brought her to Weimar earlier than she had intended, and in Weimar she heard that he was already dead. Her grief was terrible—almost madness, she screamed, she had convulsive fits. There could be no wit combating this time, Goethe could only try to show his deep compassion for her. She left Weimar for Coppet on April 30, 1801; Four days earlier Schiller, longing to escape from the narrow life of Weimar, had gone with his wife and children to Berlin.

Goethe now again drew near to the Court that he had so long avoided, nearest of all to the Duchess Luise. Heinrich Voss had come to take up the duties of his new post, he lodged close to Goethe, who allowed him the freest access, and a friendship grew between them, which made Voss very happy. The young fellow's father and mother came at Goethe's invitation to Weimar for a few days, and visited the school where their son was teaching. Goethe wished the elder Voss to accept a pension from the Duke, but he would not, whereupon Goethe procured him an authorisation to receive certain allowances, such as firewood and game, altogether worth about 200 thalers a year.

On May 21, 1804, Schiller returned from Berlin. He was not ill-disposed to go and live there on the favourable conditions offered him. This would be a severe loss to Goethe, who nevertheless unselfishly abstained (as formerly, when Herder was invited to Göttingen) from attempting to dissuade such a course, he only counselled a thoughtful balancing of advantages, and that no step should be taken before the return of the Duke from his tour of inspection. But after a week at home Schiller had resolved on declining the invitation to Berlin, if the Duke, as he wrote to Korner,

would only offer some compensation worth accepting. The Duke returned on June 4, 1804. After hearing from Schiller he desired him to let his wishes be known without any reserve and on June 8 wrote affectionately to him gladly granting the desired boon —the doubling of his salary —and promising that it should soon be raised to 1000 thalers. Besides the Duke expressed a hope that the Berlin folk would be able to benefit Schiller without any injury to Weimar viz that Schiller might obtain good terms on agreeing to reside in Berlin for a considerable time each year¹

During the summer of 1804 we find Goethe frequently dining at Court and occasionally the Duchess and the Princess Caroline came with Charlotte von Stein to his Thursday morning receptions. He was often in Jena and spent a fortnight in Lauchstedt (August 17 to September 3) where at last the stage adaptation of *Got von Berlichingen* was finished, and a reading rehearsal of it held. When on the Duke's birthday he returned to Weimar his time was fully claimed by the Court by the preparation of *Got* for the stage and by the Art Exhibition. Meanwhile Voss and his son had received an invitation to Wurzburg University and the elder Voss seemed inclined to accept it but Heinrich was firmly resolved not to leave Weimar and the great man to whom he owed almost as much as to his parents. He was daily with Goethe often half a day without interruption they read Greek together diligently.

¹ Schiller wrote to Berlin about this but never received an answer
See Duntze *Lf of Schiller* —TR

See the letter from the younger Voss to Boie quoted by Dantze
Goethe und Karl August II 488 Goethe was then especially interested in Sophocles —

But be his
My special thanks whose even balanced soul
From first youth tested up to extreme old age
Business could not make dull nor pass on wild
Who saw life steadily and saw it whole

TR.

After many rehearsals *Gotz* in its new form was presented on September 22, 1804. The piece was very long, the representation, beginning at half-past six, lasted until eleven. There was very slight applause, to many, one of whom was Wieland, it was incomprehensible how Goethe could have so transformed the great work of his youth. The adaptation had been made to meet the taste of ordinary audiences, and to suit the usual requirements of the theatre, there were several good pieces of writing among the additions, but the unity of the play as a whole was disturbed, and much of the poetry and beauty gone. Too long for a single performance, only the first two acts were played on September 29, the last three followed on October 13. Various causes made it impossible for Goethe to leave Weimar in September and October 1804, thus, though the Natural History Society of Jena had appointed him president, he could not thank them in person. In November he was appointed honorary president of the Mineralogical Society of Jena, in the room of Prince Galitzin,¹ who was dead.

Weimar now bestirred itself to welcome home the Crown Prince and the Russian Grand Duchess, his bride. Goethe tried to compose some appropriate piece, but he waited on inspiration in vain, and at length asked Schiller to undertake the task. Within four days Schiller's lyric dialogue *Die Huldigung der Kunste* was composed and studied. On the afternoon of November 9, 1804, the festal entry of the bride and bridegroom took place. It seemed during the next few days as though the people could not rejoice enough. On November 12 the young pair honoured the theatre with their presence, and then Schiller's piece was received with extraordinary delight. The amiability and charm of the Princess won all hearts, she received Goethe in the most graceful way, though for him she had not, as for Schiller, a diamond ring from the Empress of

¹ The husband of Goethe's friend the Princess Galitzin.—TR.

Russia. Nor was there a Russian Order for him as there was for Voigt. The Duke, however, raised Goethe Voigt and Schmidt to the dignity of Actual Privy Councillor (*Wirklicher Geheimerath*) with the title ' Excellency'

Charlotte von Stein and her little sister in law had become regular attendants at Goethe's Thursday mornings. On November 29 1804 a party from the Castle also came—the Crown Princess the Duchess Luise and the Princess Caroline. Goethe was now busy editing Winckelmann's letters to Berendis¹ which had been preserved in the keeping of the Duchess Amalia. He was writing an essay on Winckelmann to be published with the letters. During the last five years Goethe had again felt strongly attracted by Winckelmann. Then prompted by Schiller he began to translate Diderot's dialogue *Le Neveu de Rameau* from manuscript and besides prepared a series of careful notes on the persons mentioned and on the questions of music and literature touched upon in the dialogue. In the latter half of December 1804 Goethe felt extremely unwell again. We find him on December 19 writing to Charlotte von Stein that he cannot receive on the morrow—Thursday morning—as usual. Yet a week later on December 27 1804 he had the Duchess Charlotte von Stein Charlotte Schiller and other ladies with him and showed them the cast of the *Minerva of Velletri* that had come from Paris a few days before. Charlotte Schiller observed how ill Goethe was. Schiller, too, was a sufferer at this time a heavy cold had left its usual legacy. He kept steadily at work on a translation of the *Phèdre* of Racine to be acted on the birth day of the Duchess a translation undertaken in order to please the Duke whose partiality for the French Drama will be remembered.

The New Year 1805 in which death was to terminate the

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe* xxviii 195.—Tr

great poet alliance,¹ began not very ill for Goethe, since he found himself able to appear again in the "society of the noble and fair,"² but the result was not good, he was laid up, and had to stay indoors for a while.³ However, on January 10, 1805, he received the Crown Princess and the other ladies, though on the two following Thursdays he had to excuse himself. His comedies *Die Mitschuldigen* and *Der Bürgergeneral* were played with great success about the middle of January, he had conducted the rehearsals himself in his room. So, too, the rehearsals of *Phèdre*. Goethe was, besides, busy with important contributions for the *Literaturzeitung*. Schiller suffered a great deal during the beginning of January, and a little later his family were ill.⁴ At the end of the month Goethe ventured out, but immediately had to shut himself up again. On February 1, 1805, he amused himself preparing an honorary diploma for Gerning, as a member of the Mineralogical Society. We give a facsimile. In the pen-and-ink outline round the edge are seen symbols of the storms and weather, of the planets, of the god of earthquakes. Vulcan and Neptune are shown as symbols of the two opposed geologic theories. In the

¹ The story which comes to us by Voss, how Goethe, writing to Schiller, set down, "The last New Year's Day," is well known. And when visiting Charlotte von Stein on New Year's Day, he told her that he believed that you would see either his death or Schiller's.—TR

² Goethe to Schiller, January 9, 1805.—TR

³ In one of her letters Charlotte Schiller observes that the air of the Court does not agree with beautiful souls, for Schiller, too, always becomes ill when he goes there!—TR

⁴ On January 14, 1805, Schiller writes to Goethe—"I am very sorry to hear that your remaining indoors is not voluntary. Alas! it goes hard with us all, and he who, compelled by necessity, has gradually learned to endure his illness patiently, is best off. I am now really glad that I formed and carried out the resolve to occupy myself with a translation. Thus at least some result has come of these days of wretchedness, and I have at any rate lived and acted"—TR

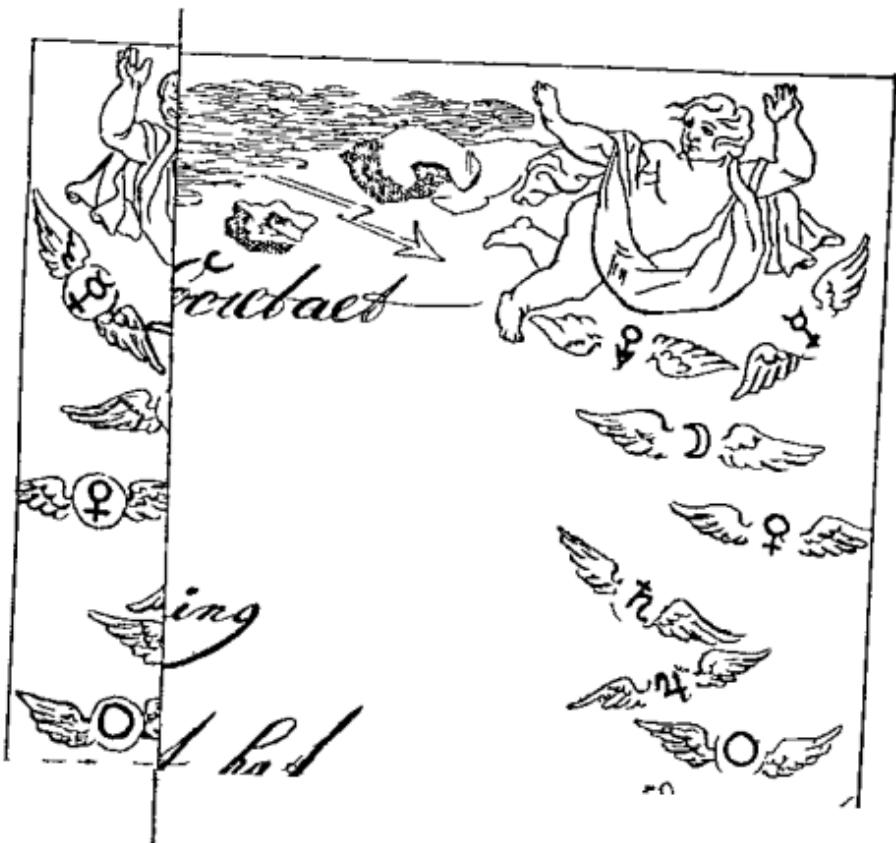


figure of the god of earthquakes there hovers a memory of Raphael's cartoons All in this facsimile is by Goethe except the signatures of von Trebra and of Lenz.

About the 7th of February 1805 Goethe became very ill indeed so terrible was the pain that his screams were heard by the sentinels at the gate of the city¹. During the three following months an attack of his disorder occurred every four weeks. He was dreadfully weakened each time. It was a colic of the kidneys attended with violent cramps and on each return his life was in actual danger. At this time Schiller suffered from ague fits. Goethe's present attack though so violent did not last long and he was soon able to go out every day but not strong enough to visit his friend the excitement would have been too much for both of them. His intellect was pretty clear however and he dictated at the notes to his translation of *Le Neveu de Rameau*. In the beginning of March 1805 Schiller could resist the yearning to see Goethe no longer, and sent young Voss to announce that he was coming. 'They fell on each other's neck' writes Voss, and kissed in a long earnest kiss before speaking a word. Neither of them mentioned the illness of himself or of the other but both enjoyed the unmixed delight of being once more together and in good spirits.

The success of *Die Mitschuldigen* encouraged Goethe to bring his oldest piece *Die Laune des Verliebten* on the stage. It was acted March 6 1805, and must have strangely affected the many anxious friends of the great poet. All seemed well. Schiller returned to his *Demetrius*. Goethe rejoiced in the increase of knowledge of French literature and art in the eighteenth century which his work on *Le Neveu de Rameau*

¹ This is mentioned by Falk in a letter. See Duntzer *Goethe und Karl August* II. 501 — TR

² See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer April 12 1805 — TR

was bringing He had a new and violent attack on March 8, 1805, but was soon tolerably restored, his old friend Knebel found him a week later in his garden, looking happy Knebel had come to live in Jena now, and Goethe was very glad of this Heinrich Voss was continually with him, and confided to him all his feelings and thoughts Goethe and Schiller saw each other at times But on March 20, 1805, a cold north-east wind came that shut them within doors again, and delayed their recovery However, in the beginning of April 1805 Goethe felt so well that, when on April 10 August Goethe set out in good charge to see his grandmother Goethe, Christiane could accompany her boy to Erfurt

But she had been only a few hours in Erfurt when a messenger came to call her back, Goethe had had a violent attack of his illness Yet he was as before soon restored to a tolerable condition He was ordered horse exercise by his doctor, and it did him a great deal of good The thought of the return of his illness troubled him

Frau Aja was very happy in her little grandson, who already overtopped his mother by half a head The child stayed over three weeks with her We give here a silhouette of the dear little woman, taken at

this period It was given by her to Frau Senator Stock, a great friend of hers¹

On April 19, 1805, Goethe sent to the press the three

¹ Frau Senator Stock was a daughter of the Danish Councillor of Legation, Johann Friedrich Moritz See vol. 1 p. 41 —TR



FIG. 7 Silhouette of Goethe's mother in the year 1805 From the *Gedenkblätter an Goethe*

essays on Winckelmann one by himself one by Friedrich August Wolf and one by Heinrich Meyer which with the letters of Winckelmann to Berendis and Heinrich Meyer's *Outline of the History of Art in the Eighteenth Century* formed the book called *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* Goethe had grown anxious to publish a new edition of his *Works* and as the great publisher Cotta was expected to come soon to Jena he sent to Schiller his agreements with former publishers (Goschen Unger and Vieweg) in order that if Schiller were talking with Cotta on the subject he might know all that was needful (In October 1804 Schiller had communicated Goethe's conditions to Cotta who on the whole approved of them) However Goethe's first care now was to finish the collection of notes for the translation of *Le Nez du Rameau* and on April 4 1805 he sent the last of them to Schiller On April 5 he visited Schiller and talked of a journey to Dresden Schiller thought him tolerably restored Yet the decline of the University of Jena was weighing on his mind So many of the best professors had been lured away and the number of students was diminishing And now Voss was invited to Heidelberg and resolved to go though Goethe and the Duke were ready to do anything they could for him

On the evening of April 9 1805 Goethe went to visit Schiller but found him starting for the theatre to see a *Ritter-schauspiel*¹ called *Clara von Hoheneichen* by that voluminous scribbler C H Spiess and having no wish to keep him from going and feeling too ill to go himself they parted never to see one another again The performance over Heinrich Voss went according to his custom to Schiller's box and found

¹ One of the many results of the success of *Got zu Berlich ten* was the springing up of plays whose scenes were laid in the feudal ages and whose principal characters belonged to the old German feudal nobility These plays were called *Ritterschauspiele* —TR

him extremely feverish, with his teeth chattering. He was taken home, and lay for some days very ill, not responding even to the caresses of his children. Goethe, not at first apprehensive, grew very sad as the days passed and Schiller was no better. "On one occasion I found him in his garden weeping," writes Heinrich Voss, "but only single tears, that glistened in his eyes. His spirit wept, not his eyes, in his looks I read that his feelings had something great—more than earthly, something infinite—in them. I told him a great deal about Schiller, and he listened with a kind of ineffable composure. 'Destiny is inexorable, and man is little!' that was all he said and in a few moments began to speak of more cheerful things."

On May 1, 1805, Goethe planned out for Cotta the contents of the twelve volumes in which they proposed to issue his *Works*. A new attack of his disorder came on immediately after this, its violence soon abated, but it left him sadly weak and broken. It was a delight to him when about this time August came back from the ever joyous and loving Frau Aja. So soon as Goethe could, he wrote to her, May 6, 1805—"Receive, dear mother, a thousand thanks for all the goodness you have shown our August! I only hope that the memory of his stay may give you a fraction of the delight that his account of his visit gives us. We are brought by it again into the living presence of you and of my old friends. Thank warmly for us all those who received him with such kindness. This first attempt to look forth into the world has been so successful, that I have good hope for his future. His youth has been happy, and I would fain see him merry and joyous still, as he passes on to a more serious age. I too in these better days, notwithstanding some agitation, find myself right well."¹

On the day on which this letter was written, Schiller had grown so much better that he himself plucked up courage

¹ See this letter in Robert Keil's *Frau Rath*, p. 357.—Tr.

new. But his head was bad that evening and he raved a good deal during the following days. On the afternoon of May 9 1805 he fell asleep and the watchers took heart. His wife sat in an adjoining room. Suddenly at about six o'clock in the afternoon, she was called. A paralytic stroke had fallen the face was distorted, the hands cold, then a kind of electric shock passed over the features and the great ease and quietness of death had come to Schiller.

Heinrich Meyer was at Goethe's house when the sad news came there. Meyer was called out but when the worthy man heard what had happened he was too much agitated to face Goethe he hurried home without taking leave. Christiane too went out for a moment. On her return Goethe saw that something was wrong. After a while he said 'I see clearly Schiller must be very ill' whereupon they tried to persuade him to the contrary. During the rest of the evening he remained silent, wrapped in his thoughts, in the night he was heard weeping. In the morning he said to Christiane

'Is it not true that Schiller was *erj* ill yesterday? She began to sob. He is dead?' whereupon she had to acknowledge it. Then he turned aside and wept, without speaking a word. He spent the day in deep gentle grief in the companionship of Christiane and Riemer. He sent kindly messages to Heinrich Voss by August and asked him to come to him, but Voss dared not. Goethe could not bear to look on the dead face nor to see any of Schiller's dear ones. On the other hand he drew near to his old friend Charlotte von Stein who too had loved and honoured Schiller well. Charlotte writes on May 11 'Goethe is again fully restored and comes more often to me now. In Schiller he has had an irreparable loss. To-day he spoke with such originality on the physical and spiritual man that I would have wished to write it down on the spot. Karl Stein remembered to have heard from his

mother that, when she tried to persuade Goethe to see Schiller lying in death, he exclaimed "No, the agitation!" ("Nein, die Zersetzung!") Not until May 13 did Heinrich Voss venture into his presence. On May 18 they went together to walk in Weimar Park. Goethe was greatly moved when he heard that the departure of the elder Voss was now fully determined on. Schiller's loss he must bear, since destiny took him away, but Voss was being taken away by men. They went home in silence, young Voss took leave in silence. In his home Goethe was very sad. Christiane heard him saying to himself "Voss will follow his father, and Riemer too will sooner or later be drawn away, then I shall stand quite alone!" At this sad time the Duke was absent on a tour of inspection in Prussia. We do not know whether Goethe visited the Court, it is probable that he did not—but we find him often at the Duchess Amalia's. When the first weight of grief had lightened, he yielded to the solicitation of the actors, that a piece should be given in honour of Schiller's memory. Since by Art "pain should be roused only to be alleviated, and resolved into higher emotions of consoling power" Goethe would seek in this piece to set forth "not that which we have lost but what is still left to us"¹. To Zelter, on June 1, 1805 "Since I wrote to you last, my good days have been few. I thought to lose myself, and lose a friend, and in him the half of my existence. The truth is, I ought to begin a new mode of life, but at my years there is no longer a way. So I just look straight before me every day, and do what is nearest, without thinking of a further sequence". Yet there was much still left him, his wife and child, true friends, an assured centre of powerful activity, above all, his own creative and speculative genius, and his own unsubduable will.

¹ Goethe to Cotta, June 1, 1805. See Vollmer's *Briefe des Schillers mit Cotta* [Stuttgart, 1876] S. 557.—TR

BOOK VIII

THE YEARS OF POLITICAL CALAMITY

1805—1814

CHAPTER I

FROM THE DEATH OF SCHILLER TO THE PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE
AND PRUSSIA

MAY 1805 SEPTEMBER 1807

IN the few months of rest and recovery which followed Goethe was still troubled by occasional illness. On May 30 1805 Friedrich August Wolf and his charming daughter came to stay a fortnight with him¹. After Wolf had returned to Halle Voss and his wife came to Weimar to take leave. We know through Heinrich Voss that Goethe was in pain at the time from his disease but it is not wonderful that a certain chill had come over his manner towards Voss who did not speak a word of his approaching departure for Heidelberg. Cordiality was impossible in the face of such reserve and with Goethe's wounded memory of all the affectionate wiles thrown away in the endeavour to retain Voss for Jena. Not long after Goethe had another attack of spasms but it was less violent than former ones and on the following morning he was able to receive his old friend Friedrich Jacobi and his sister Helene (June 23). It was now almost thirteen years since

¹ Goethe writes at length of this interesting visit in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for 1805 — TR

they had seen one another,¹ and the meeting gave Goethe great delight Wieland, who of late had begun to draw close again to the single great figure in German poetry left,² was during Jacobi's stay on one occasion dining at Goethe's, and observed how Christiane took the place of honour at the table, and with what tender courtesy Goethe treated her³

On July 1, 1805, Jacobi left He afterwards told a friend that during the last two days of his visit Goethe had been almost perfectly the Goethe of old times

On July 2, 1805, Goethe, with Christiane, August, and Riemer, went to Lauchstedt. He was, of course, soon attracted to Halle, and there spent many fruitful and interesting hours with Wolf Gall the craniologist was delivering lectures in Halle Goethe attended these lectures When one of his fits of illness came on, Gall delivered the lectures that he had missed at his bedside When back in Lauchstedt, Goethe wrote (July 22, 1805), begging Zelter to come and visit him in Weimar "I am thinking of a dramatic presentation of Schiller's *Lay of the Bell* What might not this be with your help! Do come!" Zelter could not come, nevertheless Goethe asked him (August 4) for the musical arrangement of the *Lay* But shortly after he came quite unexpectedly for a few days, and was very useful Many matters were discussed between the friends Goethe's yearning pain found some abatement in paying this tribute of honour to the memory of Schiller⁴

¹ They had seen each other when Goethe was returning from the campaign in France in 1792 See p 111 —TR

² See the reference to a remark by Wieland in Duntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, II 514 —TR

³ Christiane had been very unselfish and good during Goethe's illness See Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II 220 —TR

⁴ The performance of *Das Lied von der Glocke* at Lauchstedt took place August 10, 1805 —TR

On August 17 Christiane and August went back to Weimar to be present at the opening of the new *Schiesshaus*¹. Goethe had arranged with Wolf to go to Helmstedt in Brunswick to see the strange old collector of curiosities, *Hofrat* Beireis who lived there. They started on August 14, 1805 taking Goethe's boy with them. Goethe has given in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for 1805 a very full account of this pleasant excursion. They visited Magdeburg on their way and Goethe examined with interest the cathedral and its ancient monuments. Their return journey brought them through Halberstadt and they thought with tender regret of the good old poet Gleim who had died there two years before. Their journey ended with their arrival in Halle on August 25.

Restored in mind and body Goethe finally returned to Weimar on Friday September 6 1805. A week later he had a visit from the Crown Princess and Princess Caroline and hence forward he delivered lectures on Natural Science on Colour Magnetism Elasticity, every Wednesday morning before a select circle consisting of the Princess and her governess Charlotte von Stein and her sister in law, and in these lectures he sought to interweave ethical considerations. His delivery the result of careful thought and practice pleasant to hear and instinct with feeling charmed the ladies notwithstanding the habit of often passing his hand over his forehead in which he resembled Gall. Now at length he ventured on a visit to Lotte Schiller it proved a strange mingling of pain and pleasure. He talked to her chiefly of Natural Science and invited her to attend the Wednesday lectures. The Art Exhibition of this year was poor. It was the last for Goethe seeing his efforts in the service of Ideal Art working but little result defeated on one hand by the pietistic tendency of the time on the other by the natural

¹ See p. 21 —TR

istic tendency, felt ill inclined to continue an unprosperous war. And accordingly no prize subject for 1806 was published. In the Report of 1805 it simply runs thus —“For the current year our Art Exhibition remains closed. Meanwhile we purpose to hold intercourse on the subject of Colour with the friends of Art and Nature. Perhaps we shall in future appoint our prize subjects with reference to this insufficiently treated side of Art”

Already while in Lauchstedt Goethe had come to an understanding with Cotta as to the publication of his *Works*. On sending in the beginning of his MS he was to receive one thousand thalers, at Easter 1806 three thousand, at Easter 1807 three thousand, at Easter 1808 three thousand. Cotta was to have the sole right of publishing until Easter 1814, and then he was to have the right of preference if he offered as high terms as other publishers. On September 30, 1805, Goethe sent the revised *Wilhelm Meister*, which was to occupy the second and third volumes of the set, the first volume, to contain the poems, demanded greater labour. But even nearer to his heart than the new edition lay the completion of the *Theory of Colour*, which should appear in the coming spring, and when in October 1805 he went to Jena on University affairs, he worked on this long-cherished scheme. In Jena he was always cordially welcome in the house of the bookseller Frommann. Frommann's wife, an intelligent and cultivated woman, was interesting and attractive to Goethe, and so too was the adopted daughter of the house Minchen (Wilhelmine) Herzlieb, a beautiful girl of seventeen, whom he had seen grow up during the last eight years, since the death of her father, the *Superintendent*¹ in Zullichau.

But already the dark shadow of coming war had fallen

¹ *Superintendent* in several states of Germany means a clergyman of high rank —TR

on the land. The Prussians fortifying themselves in Erfurt, billeted troops all over Weimar territory, a heavy burden that lasted many months. In the beginning of November 1805 the Emperor Alexander of Russia, a man of undoubted personal amiability arrived in Weimar. During his stay we find Goethe dining at Court for the first time in that year. The Emperor sent his visiting card to Wieland and to Goethe. The latter went to Jena again in December 1805 thither accompanied by Prince Louis Ferdinand came also Karl August on his way to headquarters in Ronneburg.

At Christmas 1805 Goethe became ill, his periodic spasms began again and continued during the first five months of 1806 at intervals of three or four weeks. The continual anxious anticipation of these weakening and painful attacks untuned him dreadfully. Yet he went on delivering the lectures to the ladies whenever not absolutely prohibited by sickness and their unanimous praise gave him real pleasure though he did not like their devoting a previous quarter of an hour to the public events of the day. He was much grieved by the death of Christiane's sister Ernestine on the 7th of January.¹

On January 15 1806 Goethe's *Stella* in Schiller's adaptation was acted. Goethe had changed the *dénouement* making Fernando commit suicide. The piece was splendidly appointed but the new *dénouement* was felt to be an evasion of the difficulty and the moral sense was still unsatisfied. The Weimar stage at this time possessed two very good actors in Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife, the maiden name of the latter was Malcolm.

Marches through and the billeting of soldiers continued to weary and vex the poor little duchy of Weimar. Officers

¹ See the extracts from letters of Christian Vulpius Christiane's brother in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* for 1881. See the extract dated January 7 — TR

frequently dined at Goethe's table. On January 30, the birthday of the Duchess, before the performance of Corneille's *Cid* the audience in the theatre all joined in singing to the air of *God save the King*, and with the accompaniment of the splendid trumpeter band of the Owtien Regiment, verses of Goethe's that expressed the general longing for peace.¹ And for the time warlike demonstrations ceased. In the middle of February 1806 the Prussians left Weimar.

Meanwhile Goethe had written a very searching and appreciative notice of the *Volkslieder* in the collection of Arnim and Brentano, called *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*,² and with Riemer's help had been revising and rearranging his poems for the new edition. Some new poems were written. At this time, too, re-emerged the plan of eight years ago of an epic *Tell*. To complete the first batch of copy only the fourth volume was now wanting, and that would give little trouble. On May 10, 1806, the day after the anniversary of Schiller's death, *Das Lied von der Glocke* was acted again, with Goethe's *Epilog* somewhat altered. Goethe hoped that a visit to Karlsbad in the summer would do him a great deal of good, but before the time for the trip came he had another attack of his illness.

In June 1806 he went to Jena with August and Riemer, there to do his best to prevent the physicist Voigt from leaving Jena with his apparatus for the study of Physics. August soon went back to Weimar, where he was a pupil at the *Gymnasium*. It is related that once when Director Lenz desired the boys to translate the classic poets in German verse, August Goethe refused, saying that his father had forbidden him to make verses. A few years before, when a young man was announced

¹ See in Hempel's *Goethe*, vi 302, in the *Maske zu Jürgen*, the lines beginning "Herzlich und freudevoll"—TR.

² See the notice in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxix 384-98—TR.

who did not know French Goethe had said with irritation

*Verse machen können sie alle*¹ He had special reason for preventing his son from making verses

In the beginning of July 1806 Goethe accompanied by Riemer arrived in Karlsbad. The delight in two old pursuits—in the study of mineralogy and in landscape sketching—awoke anew in Karlsbad and during the six visits of the following seven years continued unabated. The lipidary Joseph Muller long known to Goethe had investigated minutely the characteristics of the various rocks and strata of the district during the years since their last meeting and had gathered an adequate museum of specimens. This museum and Muller's communication of his views together with conversations with *Bergrath* Werner² and August Herder drew Goethe again to mineralogical investigation a result to which indeed the neighbourhood of Karlsbad alone was sufficient. As to his sketches he purposed to bring a dozen of them when perfected to the Princess Caroline whose talent for drawing he was glad to stimulate in every way.

During this visit of 1806 to Karlsbad an important plan revived in Goethe's mind. He had once thought of writing a *Festspiel* in the manner of Calderon a poet whose work A. W. Schlegel had made known to him some years before and whom he had learned to honour. In the rich form bequeathed by Calderon Goethe had designed to set forth in the *Return of Pandora* this thought—that a genuine work of art is only possible through the combination of poetic fire with the ripe skill that comes of well meditated experience. And

¹ They are all good at verse making.—TR

Goethe says in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* end of May—a mistake—see the letters to Zelter. He has not been in Karlsbad since 1795.—TR

² See p. 80. This is Abraham Gottlob Werner.—TR

now in one Frau von Levezow, by birth a von Brodbeck, I found a prototype for the noble figure of the Pandoræ of his conception¹

But political fears and anxiety invaded the peaceful mountain valley. Through Prince Reuss the poet had a glimpse of approaching calamity. Napoleon had succeeded in seducing sixteen German sovereigns into forming the so called *Rheinbund* under his protection. On the way back to Weimar Goethe learned at Hof, near the scene of Jean Paul's boyhood, how the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist². He reached Weimar on August 12, 1806.

A few days after his return he went to Jeni. Here he had the *Farbtheorie* placed in the printer's hands, the two volumes were to proceed at the same time. The first volume contained his new Theory of Colour and the confutation of the current theory, the second volume gave the history of the science. While he was in Jeni word came that the Berlin Academy of Sciences had elected Goethe and Cuvier to be Foreign Associates. He was called back to Weimar in the first week of September 1806 by the growing seriousness of the political situation. Karl August made a treaty with Prussia, by which Weimar was to join in the threatening war. At the Prussian headquarters in Niederrossla Goethe and Karl August had a "pregnant conversation." The Duke talked hopefully, showed how necessary it was that he should take part in the war, and committed the care of his land and people to his old friend.

On September 26, 1806, Goethe hastened to Jeni again,

¹ In Goethe's Diary for July 27, 1806, the two names "Frau von Levezow" and "Pandora" stand beside each other.—TR

² On August 6, 1806, the Emperor, Franz II., declared that he considered the empire dissolved by the formation of the Confederacy of the Rhine.—TR

³ *Tag- und Jahres-Hilfe* for 1806.—TR

his primary object being to help in setting out the geological specimens that had just come from Karlsbad. As the Prussian general Prince von Hohenlohe, was to stay in the old Castle Goethe occupied a side wing on this occasion. He generally dined at the Prince's table and there heard nothing but



*F G S J h a n n a S h p h a u F m o l p u t g u t h L b a r y f W m a r
gra d h f th fir t t m*

politics talked. The greater pleasure was it each evening to join the peaceful Frommann family circle where he had grown more and more intimate continually. There he always found materials for drawing ready and his unfinished drawing would lie open awaiting him he was fond of drawing and talking at the

same time¹ He returned to Weimar (October 6, 1806) and found all disquiet and consternation there.

Weimar had lately gained a charming resident. Johanna Schopenhauer was a native of Danzig, her husband had died in Hamburg, leaving her in easy circumstances, and she had chosen Weimar as her new home. She was now thirty-six, of charming presence and fine culture. When a few months before she had paid a brief visit to Weimar, Goethe had wished to conduct her through the Library, but had been prevented by illness. On Sunday, October 12, 1806, a stranger was announced at her house, a handsome, grave-looking man in dark dress appeared and bowed low with much grace. "Permit me," he said, "to introduce to you the *Gedemahrt*, Goethe." Having heard so much of Goethe's stiffness, she did not suppose her visitor to be the great poet of the Germans, until he showed her more clearly who he was. "My joy and my confusion were equally great," she writes to her son Arthur. "When I collected my thoughts, I found my two hands closed in his, and we were on the way to my sitting-room. He said he had wished to come yesterday, he quieted my fears as to the future, and he promised to come again." Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein on the same day.

Early on the morning of October 14, 1806, the day of the battle of Jena, the Duchess Amelia, the Crown-Prince and Princess Caroline, fled from Weimar. By seven o'clock in the morning the cannonade was heard. The day was very calm and fair. The roar grew more and more terribly audible, then later it diminished, and at length seemed to die away entirely. So about three o'clock Goethe's household assembled at dinner, but hardly had they begun when cannon shots were heard again, this time very near at hand, at first isolated

¹ See vol. 1 p. 204—Caroline Flachsland's letter of November 27,
1772—TR

shots then several following on one another rapidly. The dinner table was soon deserted. Goethe went into his garden and walked up and down while balls whistled high above. It was now about four o'clock and Riemer could see the bayonets of the retreating Prussians gleaming in the sun as they passed along by the garden wall. After a while French hussars thronged into the town and soon it was filled with rioting plundering enemies. A hussar officer Wilhelm von Turckheim—Lili's son—came to Goethe and accompanied him to the Castle. Goethe sent home word that Marshal Augereau¹ and his escort beside some troopers and cavalry officers would take Goethe's house as their quarters no one else should be admitted. Soon sixteen Alsatian troopers appeared there so tired that they soon all went to sleep downstairs in the servants room. In the building at the rear of the house were many people of the neighbourhood, who had fled thither. Later Goethe returned. The Marshal did not arrive. There is a detailed account in Riemer of the incidents of the night—how two tirailleurs who came were not so easily contented as the troopers had been how they secretly got into Goethe's bed room how Christiane by her presence of mind calling one of the fugitives in the back house up to help by the stairs which led into the garden freed Goethe from the drink maddened intruders. When the Marshal came at length in the morning a guard was placed before the door (October 15).

During the presence of the enemy Christiane had a great deal to bear from the insolence of the officers who treated

¹ Riemer *Mitteil. ge.* 1 363 says Marshal Ney. But Ney did not take up permanent quarters in Goethe's house he only spent a few hours there on October 15. Still there may have been a change of purpose and Riemer is probably correct.—TR

On November 3 1806 Goethe writes to F A Wolf — I have had first General Victor then Marshals Lannes and Augereau in the house with their adjutants and suite —TR

her as a mere housekeeper¹ Goethe saw this, and felt that the mother of his son, the saver of his life, ought no longer to remain without legal right to call herself his wife Since the dangerous illness in 1801, in which Christiane had nursed him with such affection and courage, he had shown himself frequently with her in public, and during the last few years she had sat at his table as mistress of his house, all that was wanting was the ecclesiastical ceremony

On the afternoon of October 15 Napoleon came to Weimar He was full of wrath against Karl August, but his anger was overcome by the great heart and will of the Duchess Luise On October 16 he commanded that the plundering should cease On the morning of October 17 he left the little city that he had brought to the brink of destruction If within three days² Karl August would leave the Prussian army, withdraw his contingent and return to Weimar, he might retain his dominions

On that day, October 17, 1806, while all stood on the edge of fate, Goethe wrote to Gunther, Chief Councillor of Consistory and Court Preacher "During these days and nights an old purpose of mine has come to ripeness I want to recognise fully and legally as mine my little friend who has done so much for me, and now has lived through these hours of trial with me Tell me, worthy reverend sir and father, how to proceed that, soon as possible, Sunday or earlier, we may be married What steps have to be taken? Could you not perform the ceremony yourself? I should like it to take place in the sacristy of City Church Give the answer to the messenger, if possible, I beg" On Sunday, October 19, 1806, the marriage took place in presence of August Goethe

¹ Luden, *Rückblicke in mein Leben* —TR

² Keil, in his new book, *Goethe, Weimar und Jena im Jahre 1806* [Leipzig, 1882], p. 43, says that twenty-four hours was the time —TR

and Riemer¹ but in the sacristy of the Court and Garrison Church as Gunther had no jurisdiction over the City Church On the following day Goethe dined at Court for the first and last time that year with Commandant Dentzel Next day he inquired through Riemer after the welfare of Johanna Schopenhauer and in the evening he visited her accompanied by his wedded wife Foreseeing that the distinguished circle of ladies hitherto his friends would be embittered by his marriage he took refuge in the generosity of the stranger accustomed to the life of large cities I received her as if I did not know who she had been hitherto writes Johanna Schopenhauer to her son I saw plainly how my behaviour gladdened him There were a few other ladies with me who were formal and stiff at first and who afterwards followed my example Goethe remained almost two hours and was more talkative and friendly than he has been for years He has as yet introduced her in person to no one but me He trusted that I as a stranger and a dweller in large cities would receive his wife as she must be received she was indeed much confused but I soon helped her through Four days later Johanna paid her return visit Goethe felt a mountain lifted from his breast saddened as he was by the condition of the city plundered and filled with sick and wounded He was more affectionate in intercourse with his friends more sympathetic more gentle than he had ever been In the welfare of his Jena friends he showed especial interest at this time² He did not yet venture to visit Charlotte von Stein In the even

¹ Riemer *Mittheiln.* 1 373 —TR.

O October 18 Goethe dictated to Riemer a circular addressed to twelve Jena friends inquiring after their welfare and describing the state of Weimar He then procured a pass from Commandant Dentzel and sent a messenger who went round to the houses of the friends addressed in the circular Among the friends were Hegel Knebel and Frommann —TR

ings he often went to Johanna Schopenhauer's. There, too, Heinrich Meyer, who had lost everything in the recent troubles, and a pupil of Meyer's in whom Goethe was interested, a young but plain-featured painter, Caroline Bardua of Ballenstedt, were frequent visitors.

To calm himself he began work on the *Farbenlehre*, whose printing had been broken off by the misfortune of Jena. By the end of October Weimar had quieted down a good deal, and the Duchess Amalia soon returned. During the sack of Weimar, poor Kraus, Goethe's fellow-townsman and old friend, received such ill treatment that he died of it. He was buried on November 9, 1806, and though Goethe disliked attending funerals, he was present. Heinrich Meyer now became Director of the Drawing Academy. On November 10, Johanna Schopenhauer dined at Goethe's, there were present also Meyer, Knebel, Bertuch and Bertuch's wife. Johanna was lost in admiration of Goethe. On one occasion she writes of him — "He is the most perfect being that I know, in externals also. A tall handsome form held erect, very carefully attired, always black or completely in dark blue, his hair tastefully dressed and powdered as becomes his age—and an absolutely splendid face, with two clear, brown eyes, at once mild and penetrating." The sound of his voice was music to her. On the evening of November 11, Goethe was at Johanna Schopenhauer's, with Meyer, Fernow, Riedel, and the poet, Dr Stephan Schutze. He was in the gayest mood, and declared himself prepared to come regularly to Johanna's receptions which, as now arranged, should take place on Sunday and Thursday evenings. Tea only was drunk at them. He was the soul of these assemblies, where a table with drawing materials always stood ready for him.

Now at length Goethe ventured to visit Charlotte von Stein, who had suffered a great deal during the sack of the city.

But his marriage with Christiane had incensed Charlotte there was a barrier dividing them she was besides full of bitterness because of her misfortunes and he did not ask her to his wife's house as he did Charlotte von Schiller He occasionally visited the Duchess Amalia's where he used to draw and talk at the same time as in other places But nowhere was he more friendly and cheery than at the house of Johanna Schopenhauer whose kindly reception of his wife had filled him with warm gratitude

On December 15 1806 Weimar was compelled under the Peace of Posen to join the *Rheinbund* and to pay an indemnity of 2 200 000 francs Meanwhile since even after the grimmest fall we must seek to rise again Goethe caused the theatre to open on the 26th of December By the 13th of December he had finished the didactic part of the *Farbenlehre* and turned to the passionate polemic section He laboured also in preparing material for fresh volumes of his *Works* especially in completing and connecting the parts of *Faust* which he promised himself would make a deep impression in its new form

In the new year (1807) Goethe was often very poorly The friendship with Johanna Schopenhauer maintained all its intimacy His wife occasionally was one of the company and her Thuringian *narrate* passed without especial remark Goethe derived great pleasure from the experiment of the actors Wolff and wife who of their own accord set about bringing *Tasso* on the stage They surprised him one day with a rehearsal which he thought so good that he did not oppose the public presentation of the play This took place on February 16 1807 and was very successful There was great applause at the beginning because Goethe had a but of Wieland instead of one of Ariosto crowned by Leonore The actors lessons in reading still went on

Soon after this the little state had fresh cause for general grief. The good Duchess Amalia died on April 10, 1807. In three days Goethe composed a short account of her life and influence, and at the solemn service in honour of her memory on April 19, this was read aloud from all the pulpits in the country.

On April 1, 1807, Goethe had begun to hold Wednesday receptions again¹. At the first of them he lectured on the geographical distribution of plants, with reference to a work which Alexander von Humboldt had lately dedicated to him. In the third (April 15, 1807), the philologist, F A Wolf, then in Weimar, gave a short address on the ancients, and Goethe exhibited some flowers, and made some important remarks upon them. In the night between April 16 and 17 an extraordinarily violent attack of the old complaint occurred, its proximate causes being the lowness of the barometer and over-exertion. On the 1st of May 1807 we find him once more with the Duchess at tea, Wieland and Charlotte von Stein were there too. Some days later he had another Wednesday reception.

Now Goethe was to have one of the strangest experiences of all his life, the passionate obtrusiveness of Bettine Brentano. She was the youngest daughter of Goethe's Max Brentano, of Ehrenbreitstein and Frankfurt memory, the grand-daughter of Sophie von Laroche, who had died a short time since, (in February 1807). Bettine was now just turned twenty-two. Almost five years ago she had sent word to Goethe by Charlotte von Kalb that she burned with love for him, as Mignon for Wilhelm Meister. This Mignon fantasy grew wilder and wilder in her. She was a daily visitor of Goethe's mother, and amused her a great deal, but plagued her too. Sometimes Bettine declared to the Frau Rath that she would run off in

¹ See pp 235, 237 —TR

boy's dress to Weimar¹ She now came in the company of her brother in law and her sister Goethe received the enthusiastic daughter of Max the friend of his mother with affectionate kindness but had to repress her stormy ebullition of feeling He called her, as he would call other young ladies his "child his 'pretty, good maiden dear heart' ² but was amazed by her eccentricity She came to the evening circle of Johanna Schopenhauer and there drew attention by her droll fantastic behaviour 'A cheery good hearted kobold seemed to speak from her whole nature and at the same time an enthusiasm for music lifted her into the world of souls writes Stephan Schutze

A surprise of another kind that Goethe had about this time was a letter from Madame de Staél who having heard from Frau von Schardt of his illness entreated him to come to Coppet Goethe perceived her intention and politely excused himself The Weimar Theatre closed earlier than usual this year The actors went first to Leipzig where their season was opened (May 24 1807) with the recitation by Madame Wolff of an excellent prologue by Goethe Goethe had commended the company to the kindness of his friend Friedrich Rochlitz³

Soon after the middle of May 1807 Goethe went to Jeni Before leaving he had sent every volume of his *Werks* except one to the printer The change in the little University city that had once been so flourishing saddened him and he soon went on with Riemer to Karlsbad.⁴ The use of the waters

¹ See in Keil's *Frau Rath* a letter from the Frau Rath to Christiane dated May 16 1807 that is after Bettine had seen Goethe (*Frau Rath* p 364) —TR.

² See Bettine's letter to Goethe Cassel June 15 [1807] in Loepers *Briefe Goethes an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano* —TR.

³ Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz April 3 and May 12 1807 —TR.

⁴ At the close of May 1807 See No 279 in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit Auebel* Duntzer has pointed out that this letter is clearly dated

in the ordinary way at first made him very much worse, but when he followed the directions of Dr Kapp of Leipzig, he improved rapidly¹ On August 10, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein "During the last ten weeks I have had several epochs in my quiet life First, I dictated short romantic

"—"(these he had had a long time in mind), "then there

sketching, then the kingdom of stone and rock had its
urn, and now I have returned again to the region of the freer
fantasy, the region where we always finally find ourselves
happiest" His elucidation of Joseph Muller's collection of
specimens of Karlsbad rock was printed in Karlsbad In the
Tag- und Jahres-Hefte for 1807 Goethe speaks of the value of
a watering-place in bringing together many important persons,
acquaintance with whom enriches and varies life Among
those met by Goethe on this visit were the French Resident,
Karl Friedrich Reinhard, with whom he became intimate,²
and the Chief Court Preacher, F V Reinhard, from Dresden
Goethe found with pleasure that, in questions of ethics, his
opinion coincided with that of F V Reinhard Towards the
end of his stay in Karlsbad he was joined by August, whom
he had sent for, wishing him to see the place talked of so
often at home³

The peace concluded between France and Prussia in July
1807 seemed to promise at least a temporary calm The
return of the Crown-Princess in the company of her husband
was celebrated with great rejoicing in Weimar She was wel-

incorrectly, Jena, March 24, 1807 It should be Jena, May 24, 1807

—TR

¹ Goethe to Zelter, July 27, 1807 —TR

² See the important correspondence of Goethe and Reinhard, from
1807 to 1832, published by Cotta in 1850 —TR

³ Goethe returned to Weimar in the beginning of September 1807
—T1

comed to Weimar Theatre by the remarkable *Fore piece*¹ which Goethe composed within eight days. The thought of this little lyric dialogue is True patriotism consists in every man's labouring diligently in his own place in so doing he best learns to further the general good. This was the rule by which Goethe himself diligently strove to shape his life. Many things claimed his time and thought. As an officer of state it lay upon him to give his best attention to the academic institutions of Jena to foster and develop the theatre in Weimar at the same time he was striving to build up a new theory of colour and to bring to recognition a real vivid notion of the simple laws of development that Nature follows in all her departments. (So early as Easter 1807 in the Fair Catalogue an essay by him had been announced *Ideen über organische Bildung*²) In a silent regular consequent activity Goethe put all his hope and to his mood the eternal mining and countermining of politics seemed worse than futile likely only to bring fresh trouble on the nation nay perhaps lead in the end to its overthrow.

¹ *Vor spel : Eroffnung des Weimarschen Theaters am 19 September 1807* Hempel's *Goethe* xl. 88 100 —Tr

² This project was in Goethe's mind during part of 1806. See the *Ter u d Jahres Hefte* 1807 and Goethe to Knebel October 29 1806 Goethe to Zelte December 26 1806. See Hempel's *Goethe* Theil xxxi Seite ix x —Tr

³ See in Hempel's *Goethe* Theil xxxi S 3 14 the essay called *Bildu g und Umb llnn organischer Natur n* —Tr

CHAPTER II

BETTINE—ZACHARIAS WIRNER—SONNETS—MINCHIN HEPPEL
—THE WAHL DER FREUNDESCHAFT —THE MÄNDLER UFER
—PANDORI—PUBLICATION OF *Faust*—DEATH OF FRAU
RATH—NAPOLTON AND GOLINI

OCTOBER 1807—NOVEMBER 1808

GOETHE had now drawn near to the Court again. On Tuesday mornings he visited the Princess Caroline, and, "without delivering a formal lecture, he explained in a very charming way highly intellectual things"¹. Then, in the evenings he frequently read aloud to a small circle in the Duchess's apartments, the Crown-Princess, Princess Caroline, Charlotte von Stein, and the wives of the two Stewards of the Household, would be of the gathering, seldom any men. More delightful evenings, Charlotte remarks, than those spent in the eternal card-playing. Goethe's hearers were charmed with the new scenes of *Faust*, (the new edition of the drama was at the time in the printer's hands). At his own house there were little concerts every Sunday. There were indeed hardly ever more than four voices,² still he hoped to develop it further. The fragment of an *Achilleis*, which was now at length to appear in the new

¹ Charlotte von Stein to her son Fritz, November 11, 1807 Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II 273-4 —TR

² Goethe to Zelter, Jena, December 16, 1807 —TR

edition of his *Werke* needed a new revision, and his designed *Pandora* must be executed, since he had promised it to Leo von Seckendorf for the magazine *Prometheus*, which Seckendorf was about to edit in partnership with a son of the famous physician Stoll.

During the first ten days of November 1807 Goethe was teased with the importunate enthusiasm of Bettine who with her sisters and brother had come to Weimar again. Four months before she had opened her heart to him in a dithyrambic letter¹ without his love what is most beautiful most holy would be gone from her life. Goethe was very friendly to the pretty child but continued to baffle her intrusive ness with smiling pleasant humour. One morning Bettine lamented to Riemer that Goethe behaved so strangely to wards her. He freely gave her leave to write to him but she was to write especially about Frankfurt and his mother.

On November 11 1807 Goethe went with Riemer to Jena where the polemic part of the *Farbenlehre* was being printed. On the way Goethe expounded to Riemer the whole conception of *Pandora* in detail.³ By November 19 he could read to Riemer the beginning of the drama and on November 9 he dictated some of it aloud. On November 9 Advent Sunday he dined with a large company at the house of the bookseller Frommann. Minchen Herzlieb had unfolded an exquisite youthful beauty heightened by a singular reserve of manner that indicated depth of spirit and feeling. She

¹ Loepers *Briefe Goethes an Sophie von La Poer und Bettine Brentano* 1879 pp 147 157. The letter is reprinted from the original manuscript and the version given by Bettine in *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kind* is also printed in order to allow comparison. The date of the original manuscript is June 15. Bettine changed this to May 15.—TR.

So wunderlich und sonderbar Riemer *Mittelaluzen* 1 32.—TR.

³ Riemer *Mittelaluzen* II 596.—TR.

made a powerful impression on Goethe's mind, but only roused a fleeting gust of passionate excitement. Thus we find him calmly continuing to dictate *Pandora* during the following days. On December 1, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein — "I spend frequent evenings with Knebel, where many things are read and talked over. On the whole, with an external remarkable quietness, there is at bottom much activity. Cultivated men, and those who labour in the culture of others, spend a noiseless life. The dark days and long evenings are indeed almost unconquerable here."

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, December 1, 1807, the post-car bore into Jena the author of the play *Martin Luther*, which had been lately¹ acted with great effect, in an abbreviated form, on the Berlin stage. Zacharias Werner, who held himself to be Schiller's appointed successor, was born in Königsberg in November 1768. Ere the time at which we are now arrived he had put himself in communication with Goethe, who recognised his dramatic power, but felt that great immaturity was evidenced by the "unpleasant oppositions" to be found in his pieces, which were all strongly tinged with mystic sentiment. However, he was now in such a cheery mood that he found it easy to overlook what was repellent in Werner's personal presence for the sake of the genuine poetic fire in him. Thus, on the morning of December 2, 1807, when "Dr Luther," as Goethe humorously calls him, came, easily introducing himself, he was well received. On the evening of December 2 Goethe and Werner were at Knebel's. On the following evening they formed part of a considerable gathering at Frommann's hospitable house, and Werner read aloud some sonnets with wonderful depth of feeling. On the days following Werner was much with Goethe, and spoke to him of a new, nearly-finished drama, *Wanda*. Werner

¹ Iffland first brought it on the stage in June 1806 — TR

bubbled over with sonnets and Goethe caught the sonnet fever from him. He read many German and Italian sonnets and meditated on the nature of this form of verse. Finally he began to compose himself. At Knebels on the evening of December 6 1807, he read aloud his first sonnet. It is that which stands fourth in the *Sonnette* in Goethe's *Works* and is the utterance of a maiden in love. Between December 6 and 18 1807 arose a group of sonnets two of which are personally addressed to Minchen Herzlieb but precisely these show no sign of genuine passion. If he had felt passion the sonnet form would not have been his choice it seemed to him only suitable for poetically refined love sentiment. It was the amusement and excitement of emulation that drew him to spend his time thus leaving *Pandora* unfinished. Werner's *Wanda* seemed so important a production of its kind that Goethe resolved to have it played on the coming birthday of the Duchess.

On December 18 1807 Goethe returned to Weimar in the best spirits. The preparations for *Wanda* began at once otherwise his life went on as usual. At Christmas he sent sweets to Minchen accompanied by a gallant sonnet¹. Frau Frommann surprised him with the gift of a beautiful letter case that she had worked for him. August Goethe's birthday December 25 was celebrated with a little piece by the friendly actors. On Wednesdays Werner read aloud at Goethe's house to a select circle of ladies among whom were the Duchess and the Princess. He read his play *Das Kreuz an der Ostsee* first then his *Attila*. Notwithstanding his external repulsive ness he made a huge impression on the ladies indeed he had an uncommon adaptability and power of winning people.

¹ The sonnet *Christes h n k* Dunt er Goeths lyrische Gedichte in
47 64 On Goethe and the Sonnet see note p 179 —TR
The Cross on the Baltic —TR

to his side, even the Duke was interested by this very extraordinary saint¹

On January 16, 1808, Goethe came with his wife to Jena for a couple of days, in order to attend the ball at *The Rose*, he wished to introduce Christiane as his wife to his sincere friend Frau Frommann, and the whole Jena circle. He had just taken unpretentious lodgings near the Castle of Jena, having been compelled, by the projected restoration of the Castle, to abandon for the present his old quarters there². At the Frommanns' he read aloud, not sonnets, but part of *Hächer's Leben*.

Wanda, Queen of the Sarmatae, was admirably played on January 30, 1808. The scenery and dresses were very good. It made a great impression on many hearers. "The plot is indeed simple, the situation natural and explicable, but the execution is infinitely tender, and in many places loses itself in the region of mystery," writes Goethe, on February 1, to Nikolaus Meyer. The Duke gave Werner sixty ducats. It was impossible to provide him with any regular appointment.

¹ Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz, December 31, 1807, of Werner — "When reading, he turns his eyes frequently in a very rapt way to heaven, reads pleasantly when not too violent, and feels a call, as he says, to propound to the world, Love in its thousand differing forms. He has an intellectual expression, often seems to one ugly, and often good-looking, but odd enough. He is a favourite of Goethe's, they became acquainted in Jena. They were at Knebel's one evening, Knebel's wife was pouring out tea, their little boy was playing with toys, and Werner was in the height of declamation. Suddenly the boy said 'The man is crazy!' Knebel cried 'Hold your tongue, sir!' The mother was horrified. Goethe nearly laughed himself to death. 'Let him off,' said he. 'The lad has half a world in him' (And in truth a poet cannot be like other men.) But the boy maintained 'How could he talk like that if he wasn't crazy?' But it did not disturb Werner"—TR.

² Goethe to Frau Frommann, December 26, 1807. *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], p. 42 — TR.

in Weimar And ere long the immorality of the life of this '*Liebesgesell*'¹ was discovered

Meanwhile Goethe had been working on *Pandora* and had sent the beginning of it to the printer Moreover in January 1808 he dictated to Riemer that gay, charming ballad *Wirkung in die Ferne* In the latter part of February he became unwell and had to spend about a fortnight indoors On March 17 he went to Jena for a few days to care for the many things that claimed him At the close of March Werner departed in good time while all was still pleasant, he was full of Goethe's greatness as a man and as a poet.

In the beginning of April 1808 August Goethe went to the University of Heidelberg to spend two years there in the study of jurisprudence. This was a sad parting for Goethe who was still poorly The black-eyed brown-curled youth was received in Frankfurt with joy by Frau Aja and Bettine (Bettine had leave to write to Goethe² When he sent her a letter in January 1808 she had been 'beside herself with joy'³)

Let his father's city become a paternal city so that he may feel among his own people wrote Goethe to Bettine 'Introduce him to your dear brothers and sisters and relatives and when you are friendly to him be mindful of me'⁴ The Prince Primate of the Rhine whom we have known as Stutthalter Dalberg⁵ now lord of Frankfurt gave a banquet in honour of

¹ This was a title assumed by Werner himself See the book *Das Fromma ins he Haus* [Jena 1870] p 88 —TR.

² Goethe to Bettine April 3 1808 Loeper *Goethe La Roche* pp 164 166 —TR.

³ Frau Rath to Goethe September 8 1807 Keil *Frau Rath* p 368 —TR

⁴ Frau Rath to Goethe January 15 1808 Keil *Frau Rath* p 375 —TR

⁵ Goethe to Bettine April 3 1808 —TR

⁶ See vol i pp 315 389 vol ii pp 20 31 82 —TR

August and of Goethe's mother Goethe was pleased, and sent his thanks to Dalberg through Bettine¹

Meanwhile he had begun a sequel to *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* At Schiller's suggestion, allusions to a sequel had been inserted in the Eighth Book of the *Lehrjahre* In this sequel Goethe meant to incorporate a series of tales which he had had by him in an unfinished state many years He had planned to start for Jena about April 11, 1808, but an attack of the old disorder came on, and he spent his Easter in Weimar But he was well enough on Easter Monday, April 18, to visit the Greek Church to hear the beautiful singing of some Russians who were going to Paris After this we find him reading aloud from *Meister's Wanderjahre* one day, at Charlotte von Stein's, to a circle of ladies, another evening he reads in the Duchess's apartments, Charlotte being present.² Goethe and Charlotte had become good friends again After a short visit to Jena, he left Weimar for Karlsbad on May 12, 1808, intending to make a long stay on this occasion During his absence Madame de Staél came to Weimar chiefly for his sake, and though the Court treated her in the friendliest manner, she remained only nine days,³ since he would not return from Karlsbad to see her

Meanwhile Karlsbad was doing him a great deal of good He now carried *Pandora* forward to a certain point of section,⁴ and he began *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* This novel is the development of what had been at first conceived as a short tale, like those bedded in *Meister's Wanderjahre* In it this truth receives prominence, that the most painful renunciation

¹ Goethe to Bettine, May 4, 1808 Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, pp 170-171 —TR

² See Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II 286, for interesting details —TR

³ June 11-19 —TR

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, July 2, 1808 —TR

is the penalty of any wrong done to the sanctity of marriage even in thought.¹ Of how many painful acts of renunciation was Goethe himself conscious that had left wounds often opening and smarting anew! Only a few traits of the *Ottilie* of the book are taken from *Minchen Herzlieb*.³

Very delightful were the weeks spent by Goethe at Karlsbad in the Ziegesar circle enlarged for the time by the

¹ I collect a few of Goethe's own utterances on this novel — *Eckermann* May 6 1827 — The only work of considerable length in which I am conscious of having striven to set forth an idea is probably my *Wahlerwandtschaften*. And what was this leading thought or idea Goethe to J St. Zauber Eger September 7 181 — *Die Wahlerwandtschaften*. The very simple text of this discursive little book is Christ's words — Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart Goethe to Zelter January 29 1830 [v 381] — The text the sixth commandment *Eckermann* January 21 1817 — I do not quarrel with Solger because he cannot endure Edward. I myself cannot endure him See also Goethe to Reinhard December 31 1809 *Piemer Mittheilungen* II 607 *Tat und Zah es Hefte* for 1809 (Hempel's *Goethe* xxvii 186) *Eckermann* March 30 1824 *Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary* October 5 1815 (*Sulpiz Boisserée* I 89) — TR

The best that has been written in English on *Die Wahlerwandtschaften* has been written by Mr Andrew Hamilton in the article *Goethe and Minna Herzlieb* in the *Contemporary Review* for January 1876 (*Contemporary Review* vol xxvii). See especially the good presentation of matters on pp 214 215. The best general account of the book is as usual that by Duntzer in the series *Erläuterungen u den Deutschen Klassikern* [Wartig Leipzig] — TR

³ It may not be amiss to warn English readers that the account of Goethe and Minna Herzlieb in the last edition of Mr Lewes's *Life of Goethe* derived from Adolf Stahr's book *Goethe's Frauengespräche* is thoroughly incorrect. See Mr Hamilton's article in the *Contemporary* for January 1876 and the little book *Das Frommannsche Haus und seine Freunde* [Jena 1870]. See also an article by Hermann Frommann *Stahr's Aufsat über Minna Herzlieb* published in *Westermann's Monatshefte* for September 1870 — TR

accession of a Frau von Seckendorf from Dresden, and of the amiable Pauline Gotter (daughter of the poet Gotter whom Goethe had first met long ago at Wetzlar, and who was now dead) And even when their Dralendorf friends left Karlsbad for Franzensbrunn, Goethe and Riemer maintained the alliance with Frau von Seckendorf and Pauline Goethe was very friendly towards Pauline, in the evenings, at tea, he would read little poems to her, gave her lessons in botany in the early morning, (he had won back all the allegiance of the Weimar ladies this spring with his explanations of plant structure),¹ and used to take her on long walks On July 11, 1808, he went on a short trip to Franzensbrunn² where the Ziegesar family were still staying, as he knew He became much interested in the geology of the Kammerberg, a hill near Eger On his return to Karlsbad, he was glad to find two painters there—his old true friend Bury, who came with the Crown-Princess of Hessen-Cassel, and the landscape painter, Kaaz of Dresden Kaaz took Goethe's amateur sketches and altered them until they looked tolerable, and by his mode of doing so brought Goethe from his fantastic scrawling to a purer treatment. Good news of the late edition of his works came at this time It had sold so fast that a new issue was necessary, and for this Cotta voluntarily paid him a further 705 thalers At Easter 1808 the final six volumes had appeared, and the First Part of *Faust*, now at length complete, had attracted great attention and admiration, mingled with astonishment On Goethe's fifty-ninth birthday, August 28, 1808,³ he made up his mind, at Riemer's solicita-

¹ See in Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II 286, the quotation from Charlotte's letter to Fritz, April 22, 1808.—TR

² July 11-21 (The letter to Frau von Lybenberg, July 17, 1808, is incorrectly dated "Karlsbad")—TR

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, II 611.—TR

tion to write in account of his life as an elucidation of his works. Thus he formed new plans continually even while occupied in the execution of former ones, and how many were never executed! Two days later he went to Franzensbrunn again¹ where he sketched his Essay on the Kammerberg in which he endeavours to prove the hill to be of volcanic formation. How light hearted he was on the journey back to Weimar the bright little lyric *Der Goldschmiedgesell*, written at Hof September 1st 1808, is a witness.

But very sad news met him in Weimar. On September 13 1808, the Frau Rath died after a short illness. Goethe always knew well what a mother he had, to prepare a pleasure for her had been his own greatest pleasure her praise had continually inspired him. And now no word more from her for ever! whatever his successes and joys in time to come, his dear mother would not be gladdened by them. It was too sacred a sorrow to find expression in words and he avoided mention of his irreparable loss. There is a letter to Silvie von Ziegesar which shows how deep his emotion was³. Karl von

¹ He stayed a fortnight in Franzensbrunn on this occasion though the Ziegesars had gone home —TR

I give extracts from the two last letters she wrote to Goethe June 3 1808 — Thy letter of the 9th May has refreshed me and gladdened me exceedingly Ay ay Thou shalt yet plant vines on the mountains of Samaria—plant shalt thou and pipe also [see vol 1 p 105 compare also Goethe to his mother August 9 1779 and December 7 1783] So often as I hear something good concerning thee all the promises stored in my heart live again He! keepeth truth for ever Hallelujah!!! He! will also bless Karlsbad this time and cause me ever to hear good news of thee. July 1 1808 — Thy dear little letter of the 21 June was to me as usual a valued cherished glorious appearance God! bless the watering place still more, and cause the old illness to disappear altogether —TR

³ Goethe to Silvie von Ziegesar September 1 1808 When Professor Dritter wrote only four of Goethes letters to Silvie had been

Stein, with whom Goethe had long been on cold terms, relates that at this time Goethe met him one day, and asked with sadness and affection "Dear Karl, haven't you one kindly little word for me?" For some time he meditated a special tribute to his mother's memory¹

For the arrangement of matters connected with the inheritance, Christiane was sent to Frankfurt by Goethe. She had a bright, charming, lovable companion in Caroline Ulrich, an orphan who had found a refuge in Goethe's house. Caroline was a valued aid and friend to Christiane, over whom she had a good influence. Goethe, too, found much pleasure in her delightful presence in his home.² In Frankfurt Christiane met August, who had come over from Heidelberg. They stopped in the house of the widow of the Sheriff Hieronymus Schlosser, her son, City Councillor (*Stadtgerichtsrath*) Johann Friedrich Heinrich Schlosser, aided Christiane by his advice. She fulfilled admirably Goethe's commission to dispose of the matter "easily and magnanimously".³ The property had diminished a great deal through the hardness of the times and the generous mode of life of the Frau Rath. Goethe inherited something over 20,000 gulden in taxable property, which remained in Frankfurt. Henriette Schlosser, the daughter of J. G. Schlosser, writes of Christiane — "We all like her thoroughly, and feeling this, she is grateful and glad, and returns it, and was quite frank, and of the fullest confidence in us. Her outer being has something common—not so her inner. Her behaviour at the division of the inheritance was printed. But the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (1880, p. 243, and 1882, pp. 191-198) has since given us eleven more." — TR

¹ In autumn 1831 he told Riemer that he thought of calling the book *Aristea*. Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, II 726 — TR

² Caroline Ulrich was afterwards Riemer's wife — TR

³ "Auf eine glatte und noble Weise" See Goethe to Knebel, November 25, 1808 — TR

liberal and fine an occasion certain to betray if anything impure were in her We are all glad to know her and to judge her after her deservings, and to be able to defend her with others, for an untold quantity of injustice is done her Of August Goethe Henriette writes — He is a very dear good lad sensible, warm hearted true He does not like his father belong to the order of geniuses Also he is enormously glad that his *mother* is now his *father's wife* he does not seem to love the same things as his father and will certainly be an honest citizen man of business, yet without being dry, he is extremely lively and light hearted and takes pleasure in literature clings childlike to his parents and is confiding towards us all and we are thoroughly charmed with him ¹

Almost at the same time with the news of his mother's death Goethe had heard of the approaching meeting of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt which was now a French city Poor little Weimar, already groaning beneath its burthens was to be the Emperor Alexander's headquarters and had to meet huge additional expenses On the evening of September 25 Alexander came many other royal personages having arrived before him Karl August had gone to meet Napoleon at Eisenach to invite him to Weimar and to shoot deer at the Ettersberg Napoleon intending the bitterest humiliation to Prussia ordered that there should also be an inspection of the battlefield of Jena, and a—hare hunt !

On September 7 Alexander left Weimar for Erfurt Napoleon met him midway at a little hamlet called Munchen holzen and they embraced in the evening they entered Erfurt together On September 29 1808, Karl August summoned Goethe to Erfurt. Here he saw the *Andromaque* of Racine

¹ These letters of Henriette Schlosser's are reprinted in the appendix to the book entitled *Bri sezon Goethe a: Johanna Fahlmer herat sgegeb n zu L Urlachs* [Leipzig 1875] —TR

played by the actors of the *Théâtre Français*. On September 30 Karl August gave a great dinner, and in the evening Goethe saw Racine's *Britannicus*. On October 1 Napoleon held a *réve*. On the morning of October 2, 1808, at about eleven, Goethe was summoned to an audience with Napoleon. He found the Emperor at breakfast,¹ in the cabinet so familiar to Goethe in old Dalberg times. Napoleon looked at Goethe attentively, and then spoke in just and memorable words the full impression "Voilà un homme!"² After Goethe's age and health and tragedies had been touched on, Daru mentioned that Goethe had translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*. Napoleon said "It is not a good piece,"³ and proceeded to explain his view. Then the conversation turned upon *Werther*. After several just remarks, Napoleon found fault with the mixture of motives in *Werther*, the suicide is not prompted by unhappy love alone, disappointed ambition is another motive. On this Goethe ventured to remark that he had a certain effect to produce, and needed a special agency. (The same objection had been raised before by Herder and by Madame de Staël, but Goethe had removed all that could be justly blamed when revising *Werther*, in 1786, for publication in Goschen's edition⁴) After

¹ Talleyrand, Berthier, and Savary were present when Goethe entered, Daru came in shortly after.—TR

² This is according to Chancellor von Muller, in his *Erinnerungen aus den Kriegszeiten, 1806-1813*. Goethe, in his *Biographische Einzelheiten*, has it "Vous êtes un homme." Reinhard writes to Goethe, November 24, 1808 — "Von Ihnen soll der Kaiser gesagt haben 'Voilà un 'homme!'" Muller makes Napoleon say it to Berthier and Daru when Goethe was leaving. Probably the Emperor said "Vous êtes un homme," to Goethe when he entered, and also said "Voilà un homme!" to Berthier and Daru when Goethe was leaving.—TR

³ Cp Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary, August 8, 1815. *Sulpiz Boisserée*, I, 265.—TR

⁴ But Napoleon knew *Werther* by a translation of the first edition, and so, I suppose, did Madame de Staél.—TR

this Napoleon spoke with impatience of the Fate Tragedies of the day What would they with Fate now? he said Policy is Fate! Then Napoleon talked with Daru for a time Then Marshal Soult entered and the Emperor asked him about the troubles in Poland. Meanwhile Goethe observed the changes in the familiar room Then Napoleon came towards him and by a kind of manœuvre excluded the other persons in the room from the conversation between Goethe and himself He asked Goethe sympathetically in a lowered voice about his personal circumstances During the whole interview the variety of Napoleon's expressions of assent was admirable for he seldom listened without nodding or saying Oui or C'est bien, or something to that effect. When he had himself made any remarks he would usually add Q'en dit Mr Got? Goethe at length having consulted the chamberlain by signs slipped away without further ceremony

Since the French actors were to play in Weimar in a few days Goethe had a great deal of consultation with them (October 3) On October 4 he returned to Weimar in order to see the theatre made ready On October 6 at noon the Emperors left Erfurt Karl August met them at Stedten and conducted them to a large and handsome shooting stand that had been put up in an open place near the Castle of Ettersburg There already the kings and princes were gathered before them By four o'clock in the afternoon the slaying of forty seven stags was at an end then all went to Weimar Castle where at six o'clock a great banquet began. At the Emperors table sixteen covers were laid there was a long table of marshals altogether five hundred and fifty persons were feasted on this memorable day in Weimar Castle About seven o'clock they set out for the theatre. In front of the Castle an obelisk sixty feet high blazed in clear flames There was a Latin inscription ending with a chronodistichon The in

scription was by Voigt and ran thus — “The very auspicious arrival of the Emperors, Kings, and Princes, the consolation of the distressed [afflictæ] Fatherland, Karl August, Duke of Sachsen, has here indicated” A permanent obelisk was to be executed in stone.

The play given that evening was Voltaire’s *Mort de César*. As in Erfurt, the front part of the pit was occupied by the emperors and kings. After the play there was a ball at Court. Here Napoleon spoke several times with Goethe, and finally, after graciously dismissing old Wieland, and before his own retirement at one o’clock, talked at length and very earnestly. He took pains to show that *La mort de César* was not a good play. He called on Goethe to treat the subject in a larger manner, to show the world how Cæsar would have made the fortune of mankind had he not been murdered ere he could carry out his vast plans¹ (It was thus that Goethe had viewed the subject in his youth²) “Come to Paris,” said Napoleon finally, “I desire it of you. There you will find a wider circle for your spirit of observation, there you will find enormous material for poetic creations”

Next morning (October 7), at nine o’clock, the Emperors went to inspect the field of the battle of Jena, there was to be a hare-hunt at Apolda afterwards. Goethe avoided being present at this humiliating inspection and hunt,³ on that day he gave a breakfast in honour of his guest, Napoleon’s Secretary

¹ After the representation Napoleon had said to the Duchess Luise — “L’strange pièce, ce César! Pièce républicaine! J’espére que cela ne sera aucun effet ici” (From Knebel’s *Brufwechsel mit seiner Schwester Herriette*, edited by Duntzer) For notes and references on the sources as to the intercourse of Napoleon and Goethe, see Biedermann’s edition of Goethe’s *Biographische Einzelheiten*, Hempel’s *Goethe*, xxvii 553-556 — Tr

² See vol 1 p 242 — Tr

³ Karl August excused himself from joining the hunt by the plea of illness. Luise Seidler’s *Erminnerungen*, p 42 — Tr

CHAPTER III

FROM THE CONGRESS OF IRKUTSK TO THE FIFTY-EIGHT
FROM MOSCOW

NOVEMBER 1808-DECEMBER 1812

DURING the four years that follow we shall find Goethe engaged in the same mansal endeavour, amid the dreary external circumstance of the national lot, and in defiance of bodily suffering, to develop a useful official activity, to satisfy the ideal claims of his higher nature, to labour with beneficial result, whether in a wider or narrower circle.

In December 1808 he felt very poorly. In the spring of 1809 (after a year's interval), another attack of his old disorder came on. This was the more serious because a speedy repetition of it must be dreaded, while the hostile relations between France and Austria prevented a visit to Karlsbad (Besides, the intense desire to complete in solitude and calm a work which had taken so painful a hold on him as *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, would restrain him from visiting the gay, distracting watering-place). A new attack came before autumn 1809, and the very worst was feared, and afterwards his former vigour would not return. In May 1810 he became extremely ill, it was necessary to make haste to get to Karlsbad, and thence tolerably restored he went to Teplitz. Again, in 1811, a short visit to Karlsbad was attended with a great

very like his father's. The betrothal and marriage in this year of Princess Caroline were each the occasion of a series of balls and festivities August was present at these with his mother. In October 1810 August received from the Duke the title of *Kammerassessor*, however, he spent the winter in Jena. On January 1, 1811, he was at the Ducal table without his father for the first time, and this occurred often afterwards. In the spring of 1811 he went to study agriculture at Capellendorf, a village about five English miles from Weimar. Christiane excited general remark at this time by her excessive abandonment to her delight in dancing, the Jena students permitted themselves shameful practical jokes on her, to the grief and humiliation of August. He seems to have become very much more retiring, and thus came to be called "The Monk". Of a positive practical nature, we find him moving his father to transfer to Weimar the property which stood in Frankfurt in his name, and which was there subject to heavy taxation. In March 1812, August writes to Fritz Schlosser on the subject. His father by his habits of thought can give little attention to such matters, but August holds it a duty to undertake the affair. If memorialised by his father, the Prince Primate will probably remit the ten per cent transfer tax. And August is prepared to come to Frankfurt and Aschaffenburg to look after things in person. Schlosser endeavoured to manage the business through the Minister of Finance. The Prince Primate resolved to pay the tax himself, and to have a medal struck in Goethe's honour. But these kindly intentions were frustrated by occurrences which set the Prince aside.

It was Goethe's desire to introduce his wife into the circle of ladies of high rank. And when she came back from Frankfurt in 1808, after having acted so well in the division of the inheritance, he made a special effort to improve her position. He turned to Frau von Wolzogen, who declared herself willing

to enter into social relations with Christiane. Accordingly, on November 17, 1808 we find Goethe gratefully inviting Frau von Wolzogen to tea that evening and begging her to persuade Charlotte von Stein and Charlotte Schiller to be friendly also. The two ladies seem to have yielded. Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz — “It is not indeed pleasant to me to go into company however as he loves the little creature extremely I can perhaps do so for once to give him pleasure.”¹ We find Frau von Schardt inviting Christiane and Charlotte von Stein to spend the evening of January 10 1809 with her. But there was no nearer intimacy though once more Goethe on May 10 1810 before starting for Karlsbad writes to Charlotte — Would you do me a kindness! then during my absence show some goodwill towards my wife and son whom I am again leaving for a longer time than is fitting.

With Bettine he had at first greater success in his efforts on Christiane's behalf. Bettine who had not been in Frankfurt at the time of Christiane's stay there now sent her pretty presents and was at last invited by her to Weimar. Goethe responded to Bettine's letters, presents and other courtesies with grateful friendliness. On November 3, 1809 he writes to her — One cannot dear Bettine attempt to emulate you you surpass your friends in word and deed in courtesies and gifts in affection and in entertainment so there is nothing for it but to yield and be content with devoting to you in return as much love as possible though it be but in silence. Your letters give me great pleasure, they remind me of the time when I was perhaps as foolish as you, but certainly happier and better than I am now. In the beginning of 1810 Bettine gave great pleasure to Christiane by sending

¹ See Duntzer *Charlotte von Stein* n 301 2 Charlotte von Stein could not go to this tea party because engaged for another — TR.

² Loeper *Briefe Goethes an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano* [Berlin 1879] p 18 — TR

her a masquerade dress, of which she had been in need, as it turned out, and which called forth from her a letter of thanks Before going to Karlsbad in May 1810, Goethe writes asking Bettine, then in Landshut, for a "sign of life" Her letters are travelling with him to Karlsbad¹ His letter was sealed with a little Cupid When in Teplitz, at the end of the summer, he was surprised by her arrival, her strange being shimmered in the most various hues She left with him the fantastic diary that recorded her love-craze In reply to a letter which she wrote to him when on her journey of departure he writes —"Your letters, dear Bettine, are such that every time the last seems the most interesting So it was with the papers which you had brought with you, and which, on the morning of your departure, I read diligently, and read again. But now your latest has come, that surpasses the rest If you can so continue to surpass yourself, do it You have taken away so much with you that it is very fitting to send something from the distance May all go well with you"² Her brilliant flashes of intellect and wit stirred and interested him remarkably

While Goethe was away in Karlsbad, the marriage of Princess Caroline (July 1810) had, as already mentioned, set going balls on the largest scale, and for these Christiane, like many others, took lessons in dancing She abandoned herself wholly to her delight in this amusement (When, in January 1810, the bridegroom, the Crown-Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin accompanied by his brother, had come to Weimar for the betrothal, Christiane had learned to know them in her own house as intellectual, cultivated men,³ it is needless to say that they had not been wanting in respect for Goethe's wife) Hardly were the marriage festivities at an end when Christiane

¹ Goethe to Bettine, Jena, May 10, 1810 *Loepel*, p 189 —TR

² This letter is not dated See *Loepel*, p 191 —TR

³ See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, July 5, 1810 —TR

hastened with her gay young companion Caroline Ulrich to Lauchstädt where there would be many dancing parties during the summer season Goethe gladly allowed her full indulgence in the cheerful unrestrained enjoyment in which alone the demands of her simple childlike nature found satisfaction Her natural imperturbable high spirits her roguish chatter her warm hearted benevolence and her anxious disinterested affection gave him joy even her little weaknesses amused and cheered him

After Goethe's return from Karlsbad and Teplitz in the autumn of 1810 he tried to give Bettine's wayward will o the wisp fancies a definite direction I will confess to you that I am about to write my confessions whence may result a novel or a history , as to that we cannot be sure beforehand but in any case I need your help My good mother is gone, and so are many others who could recall the past to me which I have for the most part forgotten Now you have lived a happy time with my dear mother have heard again and again her tales and anecdotes and you bear them with you and cherish them all in a memory that makes them live afresh continually So do sit down and write down what has reference to me and mine and you will give me much pleasure and lay me under obligation ¹ Bettine made many important communications though she had an unconquerible tendency to ornament and trim facts according to the imaginings of her own fantastic little head She soon came to Weimar in person and was received as a dear friend by Goethe and his family The young painter Luise Seidler met Bettine at Goethe's house during this visit (We have seen Luise the playmate of August Goethe in the Castle yard at Jena fourteen years ago Goethe had felt warm interest in her since September 1810 when he had found her

¹ Goethe to Bettine Weimar October 5 1810 Loeper *Goethe La*
Aoche 19 3 —TR

² See page 145 —TR

copying in the Dresden Gallery¹⁾ She describes Bettine seated on a low footstool chatting, roguish and gay, one little boot green, and the other red²

Luise Seidler stayed for some time at Goethe's house, as he permitted her to practise at her art by painting his portrait To her we owe some knowledge of the daily life of the household She tells us that dinner was served in a small room, adorned with drawings by great old masters There were never more than eight guests The food was good and simple, the drink excellent Burgundy At dessert Christiane and Caroline Ulrich used to withdraw, and at this time August also would seek his own occupations Luise had permission to remain, this she could do, because there were hardly ever

¹ Luise Seidler had had a great sorrow in 1810 Her lover Geoffroy had died of fever in a military hospital in Spur It was on her birthday, May 15, 1810, that full confirmation of the sad news reached her She sank into a kind of brooding gloom for a time To rouse her from this a friend visiting Dresden took her there She went to the Gallery, a new world opened before her She formed a clear, steady resolve to be a painter, and in Professor Vogel she found a kind and able teacher In August 1810 she paid a short visit to Teplitz, and met Goethe there, but no remarkable friendship formed yet It was perhaps on September 17, 1810, that Goethe came into the Gallery where Luise was painting There was great excitement Many ran to speak to him, but Luise hid in a window-recess She could perceive by the voices that Goethe was drawing near, and at length stood still before her easel "This is really an exquisite piece, this St Cecilia after Carlo Dolce," she heard him say; "whose is it?" Luise's name was mentioned, when he heard it he looked round the corner and saw her in her hiding-place Her face blazed as he offered her his hand and in a friendly, paternal way said how glad he was to meet her, and to find her the possessor of a talent that he had not known of hitherto The delicate kindness of Goethe's after treatment of her cannot be compressed into this note, I hope that the reader will seek it in Luise's own narrative —TR

² It was in the beginning of 1811 that Luise met Bettine at Goethe's Compare pages 58 and 59 of Luise's book —TR

any ladies guests at dinner. Then Goethe generally would produce some object to form a starting point and subject for conversation a small bronze *Moses* of Michael Angelo Cornelius drawings for *Faust* and so on. Interesting instructive talk whiled away the time and the evening would come ere they were aware, and with it new pleasures for they generally went to the theatre on the three nights of the week on which it was open. Riemer and Meyer used to accompany Goethe and sometimes the ladies went too. In the theatre in the enclosed box below the Ducal box cakes and wine were handed round between the acts. Often the evening scene at home was patriarchal when for instance Goethe his wife and Caroline Ulrich would play a game of dummy whist the accompaniment of punch in little glasses not being omitted.



FIG. 9. PETRA ARMSTRONG
From engraving fifth time

Christiane's harmless delight in gaiety embittered the Weimar ladies more and more against her. They were especially annoyed when in May 1811 Goethe took her and her companion Caroline Ulrich to Karlsbad. Even Charlotte von Schiller is capable of writing that in Karlsbad Goethe has wisely placed his stouter half under the guardianship of Frau von der Recke and the Princess of Hohenzollern beneath whose ægis her dignity and fame have remained excellent, whereas in Weimar she had only had a certain Russian courier and secretary (Levandofsky) for cicerone who

has often visited her in her box, and gone with her to the shooting-place

But the bitterest outburst of feeling against poor Christiane had not yet come. In September 1811 Bettine, now Bettine von Arnim, came to Weimar with her husband. She was often at Goethe's house, and with his wife, towards whom, however, she felt a certain secret jealousy. Then she of course felt vividly how far beneath her the intellectual inferiority of Christiane was. One day, when the two women were at the exhibition of pictures, Bettine dismissed with contempt some criticism uttered by Christiane. The latter resented the contemptuous tone, and the refined Baroness von Arnim allowed herself to call Goethe's wife a "blood-pudding." To this Christiane replied, as was fitting, by forbidding Bettine to enter her house. Goethe confirmed Christiane's order without the least shadow of swerving. The Weimar ladies thought Goethe wrong in taking the part of the "globular form of the *Frau Geheimrat* thun,"¹ found no fault in Bettine's insolence, and in all their endeavours to recover favour for her with Goethe, never thought of the one hopeful way indicated by the good Meyer, that Bettine should apologise to Christiane. In 1812 Goethe went to Karlsbad, it will be remembered, in the beginning of May, about the middle of June he had his wife and son to him. They returned about the middle of August, bringing with them a letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which Goethe writes "The bearers will be able to tell you that up to the present many good things, with evils interspersed, have befallen us." (This letter is not in the familiar handwriting of Riemer. On this occasion Goethe was accompanied by a new secretary, little J. John, not by Riemer, who, on becoming a professor at the *Gymnasium* at Easter-time, had left his house.)

¹ This is one of Charlotte Schiller's expressions. See Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, II. 352.

At his Wednesday receptions in the beginning of the winter 1808-9, Goethe read aloud from the *Nibelungenlied* with which many years acquaintance had made him familiar. He used to explain all that made it hard to understand and would expound with luminousness and enthusiastic insight his own general view of the poem and of the circumstances and conceptions to which it owes its genesis. One day in January 1809 a cold made reading difficult for him and he asked Riemer to take his place. The inferiority was extraordinary for though when Goethe read the disadvantage of having lost some of the front teeth became apparent his voice was of incomparable quality. In the latter part of January 1809 Goethe brought a remarkable visitor to a Wednesday reception. It was the somewhat cynical Scandinavian traveller and antiquary Martin Friedrich Arendt of Altona who stopped in Weimar for a short time just then. They had from him an account of his travels of Iceland and of the Iddis. Arendt's external appearance resembled that of a beggar. He usually dined in Goethe's house and his manners were so unpleasant that he was not generally regretted when he left.¹

Zacharias Werner had come to Weimar again in the end of 1808, he stayed a few months, but attended none of the gatherings for reading aloud. Werner was sinking deeper and deeper in mysticism. This annoyed Goethe. One day at a pretty large dinner party at his own house Goethe declared distinct opposition to this squint religiosity he would never support it and would always exclude it from the stage.

After reading the *Nibelungenlied* the Wednesday assemblies were occupied with the old heroic poems *Parabas King Rother*, *Tristan and Isolde*. In the winter of 1809-10 instead of Goethe's Wednesday receptions, there were Wednesday

¹ Riemer (*Mittheilungen* 1, 412-414) gives an amusing account of Arendt's eccentricities and of Goethe's serene politeness.—TR

breakfasts in the Princess Caroline's room with the bay-window Goethe was generally present

A very great delight of this part of Goethe's life was the little singing concert that took place regularly in his house. The leader of the little company was young Karl Eberwein. Goethe had sent Eberwein to Zelter in February 1809 — "Receive him kindly and help him on with counsel, doctrine, and example"¹. Eberwein came back in the autumn. The rehearsal for each little concert took place on Thursday evening, when a frugal supper was served. The concerts were given on Sunday mornings, a select audience for them being always invited to breakfast. This little company for house-concerts appeared a few times in the theatre, a performance of Goethe's ballad *Johanna Sibis* to Zelter's music was especially successful. But by the beginning of 1811 Fraulein Jagemann had sown discord among the members of the company. Goethe let the winter 1811-12 pass without concerts, and only revived them again in December 1812.

On April 14, 1809, the Duchess held the first of a series of Friday evening gatherings, at which Goethe constantly attended. At these gatherings the beginning of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, the tale called *Die neue Melusine*, and parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were read aloud, and were received with ardent pleasure. We must also think of Goethe as frequently present at a ladies' gathering (*Damenkränzchen*), held on Monday mornings, and at Johanna Schopenhauer's evening assemblies.

On February 7, 1812, St Aignan, Napoleon's accredited representative at all Saxon courts, was introduced at the Court of Weimar. Grave, simple, dignified, of many-sided culture, melancholy, an evident sufferer, he attracted Goethe, who, in spite of the prevalent belief that St Aignan was a spy, invited

¹ Goethe to Zelter, February 16, 1809 — TR

him to come on Sunday mornings to his house to examine works of art, and invited for the same occasions the circle of ladies who had honoured the Wednesday morning gatherings with their presence.

During the first two years of the period treated in this chapter Goethe seldom appeared at table at Court. He was probably present at the masquerade given on February 5, 1809. August was the astrologer Christiane was one of the country folk and the verses spoken by August were written by Goethe.¹ On February 1810 a very important masquerade composed by Goethe was acted when it was repeated on February 16, 1810. Goethe himself appeared as one of the masks. After October 5, 1810 we find him very frequently at the Court table. At that time the Duke gave him a pair of Polish carriage horses with the right to free fodder for them, and gave August the title of *Kammerassessor*.

The visits to the Bohemian baths were an immense pleasure to Goethe. At Teplitz in 1810 he made a very interesting acquaintance in Louis the late King of Holland.

Louis said Goethe is the impersonation of graciousness and affability, as his brother Napoleon of power and force.² Altogether Goethe was impressed and charmed by the exquisitely unmixed moral nature of Louis which was incapable of obeying any guide but its own gentle instincts. In June 1810 a short time before this meeting with Louis the citizens of Karlsbad as they awaited the arrival of their

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe* xi 373-4 —Tr.

² *Die romantische Poesie* See p. 69 —Tr.

³ Falk *Goethe aus nahe m personliche Umwälzung dargestellt* Leipzig 1832. The account of Goethe's opinion of Louis of Holland is according to Riemer [1: 23] one of the few thoroughly trustworthy parts of Falk's book. See also Goethe to Knebel Teplitz August 30, 1810 and Goethe to Marianne von Willemer September 9, 1813 —Tr.

young Empress,¹ asked the great poet who was staying among them to write a poem of greeting on their behalf, and soon after asked for another poem to inscribe on her drinking glass. Goethe complied with great pleasure, and when a pretty spot in the neighbourhood was named after the Empress, he wrote a third poem. The Empress was charming, and intellectual, and graciously friendly to Goethe. On her departure she asked him to say a good word to all in her name, which he did with exquisite skill.²

Two years later, in July 1812, she came to Karlsbad again, accompanied by the Emperor and his daughter the Empress of the French. Again Goethe, at the request of the citizens, willingly agreed to furnish poetic addresses, though he had not yet quite recovered from an attack of his disorder. And it might well seem difficult to greet and congratulate the Empress of the French side by side with her father. But Goethe solved the difficulty skilfully, by writing a separate poem in which he hailed the daughter of Hapsburg as one who having, as it were, been already a bringer of peace by her mediation, would be so again, since through her influence her husband, who could will all, would now will peace. Beside these two poems he wrote, of his own accord, one that relates to his beloved Empress of Austria, which might be considered an introduction to the two others.³ The Empress, who felt very poorly, went on to Teplitz. Shortly after she indicated to Goethe through Karl August⁴ her wish that he would come to

¹ Marie Louise, the third wife of Franz I of Austria —TR

² The four poems are to be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, II 403-408. They are dated June 6, June 10, June 19, June 22, 1810 —TR

³ Goethe to Reinhard, September 20, 1812. The three poems will be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, II 408-413 —TR

⁴ See No 269 in the 1873 Vienna edition of Goethe's Correspondence with Karl August. 1810 is certainly a misdating of this letter, obvious on reading it —TR

Teplitz also. He did come thither on July 14 1812. In the neighbourhood of the Empress more happiness and good fortune have fallen to me than I deserve. The notion of this extraordinary lady which in the space of four weeks I have been able to thorou hly form is a rich gain for my whole life. To have an experience like this near the end of one's days gives such a pleasant feeling as though one died at sunrise with the perfect assurance through both inner and outer senses that Nature is eternally productive penetrated with Divine vitality to its furthest centre faithful to its types subject to no old age.¹ Between Goethe and the Empress there was the most beautiful cordial human relation. He read aloud a good deal in her presence. When Tasso was acted Goethe wrote an epilogue stanza which puts into the mouth of the Leonora of Tasso a short acknowledgment of the incomparable worth of the Empress. At her wish he composed in two days on a subject proposed by her a little comedy² which was acted by the ladies and gentlemen of her suite.

If the personality of the Empress seemed wonderfully attractive to Goethe that of the great Beethoven was repellent. Yet he felt that Beethoven's brusqueness and irritability had great excuse in his deafness. I made the acquaintance of Beethoven in Teplitz. His talent has astonished me but he is unfortunately an altogether unsubdued personality who is not wrong indeed in finding the world detestable but in finding it so makes it a better place neither for himself nor for others.³ The Master of Sounds prided himself on his bluff

¹ Goethe to Penhard Karlsbad August 14 1812 —TR

See the lines *Gräfin O'Donnell als Eleonore* in *Hempel's Goethe* II. 415 —TR

² *Die Wette (The Wager)* See Lüemer *Mittheileungen über Goethe* II. 617 for dates —TR

³ Goethe to Zelter Karlsbad September 1 1812 —TR

violation of forms of courtesy thus when he met the Empress he compelled her to make the first salutation, he thought it right by such means to keep grand people at their distance, so should they learn, that it was not in them to create those great spirits that tower above the common beings of the earth¹ This theory of action and its blustering exposition could of course but move Goethe to smile

We now turn to Goethe's official activity And first the Theatre Precisely in the affairs of the theatre he had, towards the close of 1808, one of his most bitter experiences Caroline Jagemann, in confederacy with the bass singer Stromeyer, had already brought him many annoyances, and when, in November 1808 the Duke, by his angry treatment of the singer Morhard, regardlessly compromised the commission of the theatre, Goethe asked to be relieved from the management, since his position in Weimar, in other respects desirable and one to be thankful for, was rendered a hell by his connection with the theatre² The resignation was provisionally accepted, without the Duke's making any attempt at reconciliation Goethe was glad to be free of a service so unpleasant, in which (beside that he worked with inadequate means) he could no longer hope to do anything for art Yet at length the Duke felt how great a loss Goethe would be, and how hasty and passionate was his own conduct Meyer was chosen as mediator, probably at Voigt's suggestion But Goethe, who saw the affair to be "in truth merely played behind the cloak,"³ insisted that his honour forbade his having anything to do with a merely

¹ See in *Beethoven's Letters*, edited by Nohl, (translated by Lady Wallace), Beethoven to Bettina von Arnim, August 1812 —TR

² Goethe to Kail August, November 10, 1808 Reprinted in the Appendix vi to Otto Jahn's *Goethes Briefe an Christian Gottlob von Voigt*, Hirzel, Leipzig, 1868 —TR

³ This is in a short note from Goethe to Voigt, December 11, 1808 See page 522 of Jahn's book —TR

apparent management, he must have the direct influence needful and discipline he did not want to inconvenience Fraulein Jagemann who should, as heretofore act in what parts she liked and when she liked,¹ moreover if it was desired to separate the Opera from the management he had no objection. The way in which the Duke carried on the matter after this, with a sort of haughty obliviousness to all that he owed to the greatest poet of the time and the futhfullest friend to him affected Goethe very punfully and at length Voigt had to call the attention of the strangely changed Karl August to the fact that Goethe was growing ill in body and mind through the affair and Voigt suggested that the Duke should let matters rest for the present. It was then proposed that Goethe should after Easter submit a design of a Constitution for the Theatre, and should from time to time report by word of mouth on such measures as might be needful for the preservation of the whole. Voigt had sketched the note which the Duke was to address to Goethe. The Duke altered it unfavourably at the conclusion. Goethe had probably seen the first draft and when the altered note was put before him he became stubborn again. It is a very noble thing doubtless he said, to spare others but on this occasion I have every reason to think of myself². Yet he was glad to have the affair tempor

¹ This is in Voigt's letter to the Duke of November 30 1808 conveying the results of Meyer's negotiation the letter ends thus — Ueberhaupt sehe er durchaus keine Personlichkeit sondern es sei ihm bloss um die Sache zu thun — TR

This was on December 18 1808. See *Goethes Briefe an Voigt* pp 5950. It is interesting to note throughout the correspondence what a power Goethe had become in Germany. Kirms and Voigt warn the Duke that if Goethe is dismissed it will be much talked of everywhere and the theatre will suffer — TR

² Goethe to Voigt December 27 1808 *Goethes Briefe an Voigt* p 522 — TR

arilly settled he had at any rate preserved his dignity, and had not swerved by a hair's-breadth from his claim to conduct that part of the manager's business which deals with the æsthetic alone and uncontrolled.

Talma and the French drama had not been without influence on Goethe, *whatever was good* in the French he would fain introduce in Weimar,¹ and the actor Wolff, who had been a great deal with Talma, strove to adopt these excellences. For the rest, Goethe was more than ever intent on bringing out the most various dramatic forms on the Weimar stage, on founding, as it were, a World Theatre, (this is a counterpart to his endeavour after a World Literature), and in general on furthering ideal dramatic art. But, unfortunately, as hitherto, the means needful for great performance were not. The Opera lay in great measure in the hands of Fraulein Jagemann (In 1809 this lady was made Baroness von Heygendorf by the Duke, and, in 1812, to the general scandal, she took up her abode in the *Palais*, where five years ago the Duchess Amalia had died). On January 30, 1809, the birthday of the Duchess, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, in the adaptation of Goethe's friend, Friedrich Rochlitz of Leipzig, was acted with very charming effect. The actors were in Greek costume. Wolff, as first leader of the chorus, and Frau Wolff as Antigone, won a great triumph.² To what excellence the art of acting had attained was strikingly manifested by the performance of *Tasso*, February 14, 1810. "It would be tempting Providence," said Goethe, "to desire that the piece should ever be played so well again." On the birthday

¹ Cp. Goethe to Frau von Eybenberg (Marianne Meyer), December 4, 1808—Tr.

² See Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz, February 1, 1809. Goethe's letters to Rochlitz are collected in Otto Jahn's *Goethe's Briefe an Leipziger Freunde*—Tr.

of the Crown Princess Voltaire's *Laike* was admirably acted Zacharias Werner's gruesome play *Der urund-wanigste Februar*, followed on February 24, 1810, its own day! Werner had of late been in favour with the Duke and Fraulein Jagemann. *Der urund wanigste Februar* had been written at Goethe's desire that Werner would for once attempt a purely human piece working by simple effects. The performance was the highest attainable in this style—the dreadfulness of the material was forgotten in the purity and security of the performance.¹ Goethe confessed to the actors that they had now arrived at the perfection he desired nature and art were joined as close as was possible. Schiller's memory was worthily honoured on the anniversary of his death by the performance of detached scenes from his pieces and of the *Lied von der Glocke* with Goethe's *Epilog*. Goethe had added to the *Epilog* a stanza to the purport that even those who at an earlier time were unwilling to acknowledge Schiller's greatness now joined gladly in honouring his name. In September 1810 Iffland came to Weimar for the third time. The plying of the great master of the realistic in acting had as before a stimulating effect on all who saw him. On January 30 1811 a whole new province, as Goethe says was conquered for the stage when the Duchess's birthday was celebrated by a performance of Calderon's comedy, *El principe constante* (*The Constant Prince*). Goethe had shunned no pains in the labour which he devoted to the rehearsal of this play and its performance proved so affecting that Goethe and Charlotte Schiller who sat beside him wept aloud. After this the Weimar Theatre ventured on the *Pygmalion* of J. J. Rousseau and the *Saul* of Alther.² In the summer of 1811 the Weimar company

¹ Goethe's *Zweites Jahres Heft* 1810.—Tr.

The second last as the *Epilog* now stands. Hempel's *Goethe* vi
237.—Tr.

² *Saul* in the translation of Knebel.—Tr.

played in Halle, the University Church there having been fitted up as a theatre, and the first performance was opened with a prologue written by Goethe¹. In 1812 Shakespear's tragedy of passion, *Romeo and Juliet*, with certain alterations for stage purposes by Goethe, made a deep impression, and notwithstanding many objectors, held its own.² After this came Calderon's remarkable *La vida es sueño* (*Lies is a dream*), then some pieces by the young Theodor Körner, who was just becoming known. Goethe gave great care to Körner's plays. Finally the year 1812 closed with a visit from Iffland, important both to Weimar audiences and actors. Thus Goethe laboured to elevate the actor's art, and set high aims in view and proscribed all carelessness and laziness that would fain call itself naturalism.

Apart from the Theatre, Goethe's official activity, when not claimed by some special commission of the Duke's, was concentrated on institutions that had to do with Science and Art. The University of Jena had declined sadly, still Goethe did not desist from striving, with clear-thoughted, large judgment, to attain the best that was possible. In the hope of better times, he held it to be his duty to give all his care to the scientific institutions. In the first instance it was planned to refit the first story of the Castle at Jena for museums, yet Goethe purposely lingered in this, fearing that the restored rooms would be taken for military purposes. In 1808 an Osteologic-Zoological Cabinet was founded, two years later

¹ Dated Halle, den 6, August 1811. Hempel's *Goethe*, vi 244
—TR

² *Romeo and Juliet* was first acted in Weimar on January 31, 1812
—TR

³ This was Iffland's last "Gastspiel" in Weimar. There were in all four one in 1796, one in 1798, one in 1810, and one in 1812. Iffland died in 1814.—TR

the Mineralogical Cabinet was increased by the purchase of the geological collection of *Berggräf* Voigt,¹ the Anatomical Cabinet was improved. In 1811 the chemical laboratory of Dobereiner, that proved so valuable, was fitted up. In 1812 an Observatory was instituted in the house that had once been Schiller's and the Cabinet of Physical Science received a permanent strengthening in a subsidy from the Crown Princess of Weimar. The Drawing Academy of Weimar was brought into close connection with the Library. Goethe's effort to unite all the institutions in Jena and Weimar that had to do with science and art under a single central authority called the Superintendence (*Oberaufsicht*) was not successful.

During the years treated in this chapter Goethe wrote and published much that was important for literature and science. The Poems of Occasion already mentioned² may be passed over. *Die Wahl erzählschaften* was published in the beginning of the period³ a novel remarkable for depth of feeling, wealth of penetrative knowledge of the world and of man and artistic perfection a masterpiece of its kind though it has not escaped manifold misinterpretation. The first two volumes of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were published during this time.⁴ Viewing all from the losty vantage of a noble old

¹ This is Johann Karl Wilhelm Voigt of Ilmenau. See on his collection Goethe to C. G. Voigt January 10 1810 —TR

See the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* 1809 and Goethe to Voigt July 1809 —TR ³ See p. 80 —TR

⁴ We have seen how Goethe began *Die Wahl erzählschaften* in the summer of 1808 at Karlsbad (p. 58) and how he read aloud the earlier part of it at the Friday evening receptions of the Duchess in the spring of 1809 (p. 78). The interest excited inspired him to resume work on it and he completed it during the summer of 1809. It went to the printer at the end of July and on October 3, 1809 he read the last proof sheets of it —TR

⁵ The First Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was published in 1811. On October 23 1811 Goethe sends the Second Part to Knebel —TR

age, Goethe's gaze is clear and penetrating, and the perfect art of the presentation makes his youthful days live again with rare vividness. The book did much to bring the great poet near to the hearts of his German people. By the close of 1812 the Third Part had been begun. The early portion of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* and of the tale *Das nussbraune Madchen* that belongs to it were written in the years 1809 and 1810, and were published in Cotta's *Pocket-Book for Ladies*¹. Further, it must be recorded that during the four years under review there was an abundant blossoming of fresh lyric poetry, song, ballad, and cantata².

Goethe appeared as a writer on geology during this period, in his essay *Der Kammerberg bei Eger* published³ in Leonhardt's *Taschenbuch für die Mineralogie*. But the world was astonished when the great poet sent forth in two fine volumes with elucidatory tables, his book on light and colour, *Zur Farbenlehre*, the product of twenty years of faithful methodical observation, of infinite industry, a model of happy exposition. The printing of it, begun in 1806, before the battle of Jena, was only finished in May 1810. It is true that science and many important philosophers have rejected Goethe's Theory of Colour, and refused to recognise the correctness of his

¹ Goethe did not return to the *Wanderjahr* after this until 1820.—TR

² The beautiful dramatic ballad *Johanna Sebus*, founded on a real incident, was written in May 1809. To 1810 belong *Rechenschaft* and *Ergo bibamus* (see the *Gesellige Lieder*), *Katzenpastete* (a satire on Newton, see *Parabolisch*), the erotic poem, *Das Tagebuch* (not yet included in Goethe's *Werks*, published first in separate form in 1861, 3d edition, 1868, Berlin), and the well-known *Gemahsch Tzeiben* ("So walz' ich ohne Unterlass, Wie Sankt Diogenes mein Fass"). In 1811 was written the cantata *Rinaldo*. In 1812 the lovely *Mairied* ("Zwischen Weizen und Korn, Zwischen Hecken und Dorn"). See, for further information, Duntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erlautert*, I 303-313.—TR

³ In 1809.—TR

tenets in physics still by the first part (*Physiologische Farben*) he is the founder of a new science, Physiological Optics a fact generally recognised even among his contemporaries and as for the *History of the Theory of Colour* opponents of the speculative part of Goethe's work prize it as a masterpiece. Further, many isolated fine observations have a permanent value, and in the skill of arrangement and of exposition this noble book remains unsurpassed. The opposition which his theory encountered brought him many bad hours still in his belief that he had found the one true and fruitful conception of the matter in his purpose to faithfully and steadfastly work on in that conception, he found an aid to rising superior to that opposition and he never repented having given so much time to this important part of Natural Science. But it was a real pity that the mistrust of Goethe as a man of science evoked by the *Farbenlehre* operated against his theories of organic structure which were published afterwards and prevented for a long time their receiving the recognition they deserved.

Study of the other branches of Natural Science had slackened during this period Schelling's acute book, *Memo rial on the Work "Concerning Divine Things"* was called forth by an essay *Concerning Divine Things and their Manifest ation* in which Jacobi attacked the Identity system of the Nature Philosophy. In Schelling's book Goethe found his own philosophy of Nature reasoned out and supplied with a firm basis. He was 'terrified and troubled' on Jacobi's account (Jacobi was absolutely crushed by Schelling) but he was 'edified' also¹. On the whole gratitude is due to Jacobi since he has called Schelling forth from his stronghold. For me his work is of the greatest significance because Schelling has never spoken so plainly before and for me

¹ Goethe to Knebel March 25 1811 —TR

precisely in my present every minute's acting and thinking, it is important to see with thorough clearness into the *statum controversiae* between the "Nature" men and the "Freedom" men, that according to the measure of this insight I may pursue my activity in various departments"¹ To Jacobi, whose abuse of the Nature Philosophy had made Goethe feel very bitter, he wrote — "I for my part, with the manifold tendencies of my being, do not find *one* mode of thinking sufficient, as a poet and artist I am a Polytheist, on the contrary, as a searcher into Nature I am a Pantheist, and one as distinctly as the other, if I have need of a God for my personality, as a moral human being, that has been provided for also"²

Nor did Goethe's interest in ancient and modern art flag during these four years, only a little on the subject, however, was published Many a matter was discussed and arranged with Heinrich Meyer Several important painters, such as Friedrich, Kaaz, Kugelgen, and Runge,³ entered into communication with him Tischbein, who had drawn near to Goethe in 1806 again, had soon after relapsed into silence⁴

¹ Goethe to Knebel, April 8, 1812 — TR

² Goethe to Jacobi, January 6, 1813 (See also Goethe to Jacobi, May 10, 1812) — TR

³ Kaspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) sent drawings to Weimar in 1808, Karl Friedrich Kaaz (1776-1810) was in Weimar in 1809, (and see page 260), Franz Gerhard von Kugelgen (1772-1820) came in December 1808 to Weimar, painted a portrait of Goethe, left Weimar in February 1809, Philipp Otto Runge (1777-1810) — TR

⁴ Goethe's opinion of Tischbein's character had changed very much even before he left Italy And what may on the whole be regarded as his final judgment of Tischbein will be found in his letter to Herder of March 2, 1789 — "With all his good qualities, Tischbein is a queer animal, a sort of hare-brain (*Hasenfuss*), lazy, unreliable, since the Italians have taught him to dabble in the *metier* of falsehood, word-breaking and contract-breaking He thinks that he is of subtle discern-

The Dresden Gallery attracted Goethe repeatedly. Moreover we find him during this period again trying his skill in landscape sketching.

A very important friendship was that with Sulpiz Boisserée. Boisserée the son of a wealthy merchant of Köln was born in 1785. With his brother Melchior his junior by almost three years he had collected a large number of old German pictures which the spoliation of churches and monasteries and the ruin of families had dispersed and further had applied himself to the minutest study of the Cathedral of Köln as the most perfect product of Gothic Art.¹ He had a number of drawings of the Cathedral prepared with the purpose of publishing a description and history of it. He sent a selection from these drawings to Goethe in 1810 (The introduction had been brought about by Reinhard.) Fully as Goethe recognised the value of the drawings he regarded Boisserée's extraordinary admiration of the Gothic as a mistake and in Boisserée's endeavour to win him for the cause he only saw prudent calculation of ways and means. He did not hold out hope of aid in the matter. Yet Boisserée visited Goethe in May

ment and is only paltry he thinks that he can intrigue and the most he can do is confuse people" For an account of the relation between Goethe and Tischbein see Duntzer's *Aus Goethe's Freundeckreise* (Braunschweig 1868) pp 215-53—TR

¹ Boisserée was brought near to the Romantic School by the friendship of Friedrich Schlegel (who left Köln in 1808). In March 1810 Boisserée and his brother went to live in Heidelberg. The influence of Friedrich Schlegel would of course tend to make Boisserée averse to the heathen Goethe. But this found an ample counterbalance in the influence of a very remarkable friend called Lertram. I think that the reader will find great pleasure in an estimate of Goethe in Bertram's letter to Boisserée July 15 1811 (*Sulpiz Boisserée* i 142-3)—TR

² See Goethe to Reinhard Jena May 14 1810 and Karlsbad July 22 1810—TR

1811, intent with all the force of conviction on winning him to his side Goethe soon saw that his visitor really had the matter at heart, and was no empty-headed visionary, and he was the more easily gained over by all that Boisserée had to tell of Low German Art, since the young fellow was careful to show himself just to Greek Art.¹ He invited Boisserée to come and dine next day (May 4), and they were soon good friends Boisserée thought that already he had persuaded the old gentleman over to his views—he did not know how far he was from penetration into Goethe's real mind He did not know that the signs of emotion, which he took for signs of conviction, were the expression of Goethe's delight in his own thorough worth, in his fresh enthusiastic youthful personality,² and that Goethe continued to hold Gothic architecture simply as a stage in development necessary at its time and in its place, but not to be compared with the perfectness of the architecture of the Greeks Still Goethe promised to publicly commend Boisserée's costly enterprise, only not in a daily paper He acknowledged freely that he was in accord with the general tendency of Boisserée's mind, and that Boisserée's special study was one that he loved and cared to learn about from others, since he was prevented by circumstance from occupying himself with it directly

But Boisserée felt hurt when a year passed by and Goethe's promise to command the design of publishing plans of the Cathedral seemed forgotten How joyfully surprised was he

¹ The account in Boisserée's Letters to his brother (May 1811) of Goethe's coldness at first, and of his gradual thaw, is very interesting See the very important volumes called *Sulpiz Boisserée* (Stuttgart, 1862) Volume 1 contains Boisserée's fragment of an autobiography, his diaries, and his correspondence with all his friends except Goethe Volume II contains his correspondence with Goethe —TR

² See Duntzer's essay on Goethe's relation to Sulpiz Boisserée, *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, 304-5 —TR

then, in the autumn of 1812, when he found that in the second part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe after describing his own youthful endeavours to comprehend Strassburg Cathedral had thus written — 'Here I must single out for praise the admirable Sulpiz Boisserée who with unwearyed zeal labours to exhibit the Cathedral of Kölz in a splendid series of engravings as the highest example of those mighty conceptions whose intention Babel like would soar into the heavens and which were so much beyond earthly powers that of necessity they stood still in their execution' And a little farther on Goethe expresses a hope that our active young friend will not content himself with the monograph on the Cathedral but will follow out the history of the architecture of the Middle Ages in Germany in detail Thus Goethe had been won to a full acknowledgment of the nobleness of Gothic Art when the burning of Moscow turned the world's goings on into new paths

CHAPTER IV

THE LIBERATION OF GERMANY

DECEMBER 1812-JULY 1814

ON December 15, 1812, the flying sleigh bore Napoleon fast through Weimar, so fast that his ambassador St Aignan only overtook him at Erfurt. St Aignan brought to Goethe friendly greeting from the "Emperor of the Night," as Karl August called Napoleon. Karl August had long nourished hatred for the French oppressor in secret. Accordingly he had summoned von Muffling as District Vice-President to Weimar,¹ which became the central point of schemes for the freeing of Germany. Of these schemes Goethe and Voigt knew nothing, for they did not believe that any good could come of opposing Napoleon. Painful as the suspense was with which Goethe now looked to the development of events, he did his best to drive away gloomy thoughts, and to mould a cheerful daily home life. Fraulein Engels, of Berlin, who had belonged to Weimar Theatre since 1805, a particular friend of Christiane's, now frequently gave Goethe great pleasure by singing while at table to the guitar. On the evening after Twelfth Night (January 7, 1813) there was again² a con-

¹ This was in 1809. On Muffling, see Otto Jahn's Introduction to *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, 95-97.—TR

² It will be remembered that the concerts had been discontinued. See p. 278.—TR

cert at his house, and at this concert his *Song of the Three Kings*¹ was sung to Zelter's music. Next day Goethe dined at Court, as already he had four days before. Immediately after he had a fit of illness from the consequences of which he suffered for a long time. Still ill health did not prevent him from devoting himself with great interest to the Theatre especially to the approaching Court festivities. For precisely in such gloomy times it was needful to maintain a deliberate cheerfulness!

On January 6 1813 a heavy blow in his failing condition fell upon him in the death of the good old Wieland who succumbed beneath repeated strokes of paralysis. Goethe was not fit to attend the funeral and he sent August in his place. We find him seeking comfort in his old friend Charlotte von Stein as he had done after the death of Schiller. Yet he soon roused himself and in spite of bodily suffering turned to fresh labours. He composed an idyll for the festivities of the evening of the Duchess's birthday January 30 1813 and the address *In Memory of Wieland* belongs to this period. It was Goethe who conducted the festivities on the birthday of the Crown Princess. The Princess was at the time full of painful anxiety for her brother the Czar had advanced into Germany and was plainly determined on driving Napoleon to bay. Goethe was the more ardent in making the celebration of her birthday a brilliant one. Tableaux after pictures were presented and the fourth tableau a representation of Arcadia, with nymphs and fauns and river gods and Apollo and the Muses was designed by Goethe himself². Although he had been ill in bed only a

¹ See vol 1 p 396 — TR

See the cantata called *Idylle* Hempel's Goethe II 310 — TR

² Goethe to Heinrich Meyer February 9 1813 — TR

short time before, he was present at the chief rehearsal of these tableaux, and at their representation on February 16, 1813. Two days later Goethe delivered in a very impressive way the address *In Memory of Wieland* at the Lodge of Mourning (*Trauerloge*). At the beginning of February 1813 the Duke appointed August to be Court Page in the suite of the Crown-Prince, the appointment seems to have given Goethe a good deal of pleasure¹.

During the end of February and the beginning of March, 1813, the dreary remnants of the Grand Army moving home-wards from Russia brought contagious disorders into Weimar. All the signs of the time indicated a new fearful war, and poor Weimar would suffer again as in the "Jena" days seven years ago! Meanwhile Goethe was daily thinking over the Third Part of his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*². It was his hope to complete it in the coming summer. But the aspect of things grew more and more threatening, the confusion of the relations of princes and states was great, friends were dreaded as much as foes. The Crown-Princess fled from Weimar on April 7, 1813. Five days later a flying party of Prussian horse entered Weimar, and made prisoners of the Weimar Contingent. The continual excitement told badly on Goethe, and he grew so feverish and wretched that his family urged him to start for Teplitz without leave-taking³. Christiane came to Charlotte von Stein to say farewell in his name.

Shortly before this it had become necessary to decide on closing the mines at Ilmenau altogether. Goethe was deeply moved to think that such an expenditure of strength, time, and money had brought no fruit! But he recollect- ed

¹ See his letter of thanks to the Duke, February 6, 1813 — TR

² Goethe to Knebel, March 10, 1813 — TR

³ He left Weimar on April 17, 1813 — TR

with gratitude what a good influence on his life working in conjunction with Voigt had been¹

An old Prussian pass enabled Goethe to procure right of way through the disturbed country for himself and his secretary John In Meissen he met a company of Black Jagers on the march to Leipzig Among them was the author of *Undine* a tale of which Goethe had a very high opinion Goethe was muffled in a Russian general's cloak with a red collar and had a military cap pressed down deep over his face yet Fouque knew him How he greeted Goethe with a military salute how the company presented arms and cried Long live Goethe the poet of poets! how finally Goethe pronounced upon their cutlasses and muskets the blessing they craved Fouque himself has told us In Dresden Goethe saw the entry of the King of Prussia and the Czar but at the same time heard that on April 18 the French had driven the Prussian hussars out of Weimar In the Dresden Gallery he found much to interest him though what was best had been removed for safety At the house of Korner whose son had joined Lutzow's volunteers he met the great statesman Stein and his friend Arndt Their sure hope of victory roused Goethe to vigorous expression of disbelief in it 'Ay you may shake your chains! the man is too great for you! you will not burst them but urge them deeper into your flesh!' On April 6 1813 he arrived in Teplitz where he met the Crown Princess

From Teplitz Goethe writes six weeks later June 11 1813 to Fritz Schlosser On May 6 relieved as to the fate of Weimar Then the war drew near to us Some said they heard the thunder of cannon but all saw the fiery sign by night among the clouds Russian and Prussian wounded

¹ Goethe to Voigt April 11 1813 It will be remembered that in 1798 mining had been given up the shaft and drifts only being still kept open. See p 167 —TR

confirmed the occurrences . . . New fugitives arriving set all in commotion, many of the former ones went away farther into the country, and in addition to all this external trouble, the inner trouble of party-feeling!¹

The armistice of June 4, 1813, opened free way for communication with Weimar. To Zelter Goethe writes from Teplitz, June 23, 1813 "My dear ones are well, and bear up resolutely through it all I am well, and can work What more do I desire?" (Since, in November 1812, Zelter had written a pathetic account of the suicide of his promising eldest son to Goethe, the latter had addressed his friend with the brotherly *Du*, which not even Heinrich Meyer or Schiller had drawn from him) He found an especially delightful refuge from the noise and troubles of the time in the portrayal of his own past life² In the early part of this summer stay in Teplitz, Goethe even wrote some ballads,³ such work lightened the burthen of the time It was a great inconvenience when, in the middle of his work, his secretary John became ill Karl August came to Teplitz at the end of June 1813, from him Goethe learned many things about the political situation that by no means tended to quiet his fears His studies of natural science did not remain fruitless An excursion, attended with some danger, to Zinnewalde and Altenberg, yielded him the greatest profit⁴

¹ See Frese's *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, p 51 —TR

² He mentions to Zelter, in the letter already quoted, that he is working on the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and that he hopes to have it published by Michaelmas 1813 —TR

³ *Die wandelnde Glocke*, *Der getreue Eclat*, *Der Todtentanz*, all sent to Riener on June 6, 1813 (Duntzer notes that "Juli," Riener's *Mittheilungen*, II 548, is a printer's error for "Juni") —TR

⁴ Goethe has written an especial account of this excursion, which occupied three days, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of July, 1813 See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii 357 *Ausflug nach Zinnewalde und Altenberg* —TR

Austria having declared war against France Goethe left Teplitz where during the latter part of his stay, in great quiet he had brought the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to a close. In Dresden he spent extremely stirring and tempestuous days.¹ In Weimar he found his family well. Thence in the latter part of August, he went to join the Duke in Ilmenau where he had not been since 1796. He spent seven happy days there in gracious memories of the old time which was now so distant that only what was actually fruitful in it remained for the imagination. His birthday was merrily celebrated at Ilmenau. During the stay Geology resumed its old fascinating power.

The victories of Blucher at the Katzbach and of the allies at Kulm roused the hopes of the Germans but Goethe considered the issue of the war still doubtful. And then even the victory of Germans (in alliance with Cossacks and Baschkirs!) might bring great trouble to Weimar by driving the conquered French through the city on their retreat. However sometimes a cheery mood set in such as that in which he composed the gay bright verses *Offene Tafel*² now to be found in his *Gesellige Lieder*. His chief preoccupation was with Geology particularly with his collection of tin formations. But the theatre made its demands also thus on the very days of the battle of Leipzig at the wish of the actress Frau Wolff he wrote for the *Esse* of Banks and Dyk a noble

¹ Goethe to Fritz Schlosser Weimar September 5 1813 — Bis den 18ten August verlebte ich ruhige Tage in Teplitz, dann sehr lebhafte und sturmische in Dresden und befunde mich seit dem 19ten hier. 18ten August is plainly a misprint for 13ten August or 10ten August. See Goethe's lines to Peucer dated Dresden August 15 1813 — TR.

Goethe to Knebel September (5) 1813 We shall find Goethe visiting Ilmenau only once more in August 1831 — TR.

² *Offene Tafel* was dictated to Fraulein Ulrich on October 1 1813. Unter Goethes *lyrische Gedichte* II. 209 — TR.

epilogue, in which there is a passage that might seem to indicate the fall of Napoleon¹

The 21st of October 1813 was a day of terror for Weimar. Not only did the little city suffer by the conflict between the Allies and the French rear-guard, and by the cannons of the French, but her very deliverers plundered her. Goethe did not escape threats.² But the many interesting acquaintances that he made in the following days, (among them were Metternich and his own Leipzig fellow-student Hardenberg), were considered by him ample amends for whatever misfortune beset him.

Amid the confusion and distraction of the time, he took refuge in the study of China and her affairs. In this he was very much aided by the presence in Weimar of the Orientalist, *Hofrat* Julius Klaproth.³ Moreover, he found solace in arranging his works of art, especially the engravings. He began to distribute them in various schools, and to unite the collections of different times.⁴ In the revision of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, he was supported by Riemer, whom he would gladly have had an inmate of his house.

¹ The lines —

“Der Mensch einfrt, er sei auch, wer er mg,
Ein letztes Gluck und einen letzten Tag”

Goethe put this version of Ovid’s *Nemo ante obitum beatus* among his poems in 1815 [see Hempel’s *Goethe*, II 328], and in 1824, in speaking of Rochlitz’s *Diary of the Battle of Leipzig*, he calls attention to the strange fact that these lines were written during that battle [Forty Volume Edition of Goethe’s *Werke*, XXXI 337] — *Stichle’s note in Hempel’s Goethe*, XI 251. (See also Goethe to Knebel, November 4, 1813, Goethe to W von Humboldt, November 4, 1813) — TR

² See in Goethe’s *Briefwechsel mit Knebel* the interesting account of Goethe’s troubles with the Cossacks, quoted from Heinke — TR

³ See Goethe to Knebel, November 10, 1813 — TR

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, November 13, 1813 “It is opium for the present times,” he said to Luise Seidler. See p. 98 of her *Recollections*, the editor’s footnote — TR.

again Weimar continued to suffer very much by the war. It was fixed on as the situation of two head districts, and it was the centre to which all companies of recruits were sent thence to be distributed to their permanent regiments. Every one expected to see the Duke soon go over to the Allies openly. On November 13 1813 Lesser was told. Eight days later there was a concert at Goethe's house ¹.

Meanwhile enthusiasm for the sacred cause of Fatherland had moved a number of men, older and younger to join in the war of liberation as volunteers. Among them was Kieser, the Professor Extraordinary of Medicine at Jena. 'I have been at Goethe's house for half an hour,' writes Kieser, on November 4 'he spoke well (*brightly*), wished that I would stay in Weimar instead of going with the army.' Coethe and Voigt were of opinion that officials could do greater service by remaining at their posts than by joining in the war and in Weimar medical help was sadly needed to deal with the malignant nervous fevers that prevailed. On November 16 1813 Kieser supped with Goethe and in a two hours conversation discussed the world's affairs. They agreed in thinking that France in a conflict with England must be beaten because she was more living and mighty than the rigid land. That Goethe was deeply moved by the great ideas Freedom People Fatherland and that he was firmly convinced that Germany had a great future is proved by the well known conversation with Luden August Goethe had not as yet subscribed among the volunteers, his father's

¹ The letters of Kieser to Luise Seidler will be found in the book already referred to *Erlungen und Leben der Malerin Louise Seidler* Berlin 1875.—TR.

² In November 1813 Luden wishing to start a periodical opposed to Napoleon and the French to be called *Nemesis* went to Goethe. Goethe endeavoured to dissuade him. Luden *Ackblätter i man Leben Jena 1847* (Cp Goethe's defence Eckermann March 14 1830)—TR.

opposition made him hesitate. Meanwhile the Duke had left the Confederation of the Rhine, and issued an appeal to volunteers.

Goethe continued his effort to bear up bravely during the dreaded December weather. We find him writing a couple of satiric poems¹ and detached *Spruchweise*, and looking up unprinted poems among his papers, since at Easter 1814 he would have the right to publish a new edition of his works. On the Duchess's Friday evenings he read aloud from the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (He appeared twice at the Duchess's table, and on December 18, 1813, at that of the Duke, who was just back from Frankfurt.) No distractions, however, could prevent a painful agitation that arose from the enormous tension of expectation, and his fear that the Allies would fail. On the evening of December 12, 1813, Kieser found him in strange excitement. "In the closest confidence he communicated great plans to me, and called on me for co-operation. I never saw him so fearfully agitated, violent, wrathful, his eye glowed, often words failed him, and then his countenance swelled, and the eyes glowed, and the whole gesticulation had to make up for the word that was wanting. I understood his words and his plans, but not himself. He talked about his life, his deeds, his worth, with a frankness and distinctness that I did not understand. Was it that the great plan, which I can only tell you of by word of mouth, took such a hold upon him? Then I must esteem him still more, and honour his trust in me." It is probable that Goethe had for the moment been seized with the thought of persuading Napoleon, with whom he stood so well, to confine his pretensions to France before the Allies crossed the Rhine.

¹ *Regen und Regenbogen*, (the third of the *Drei Palmblätter*), and *Pfaffenspiel*—See the division *Parabolisch* in Goethe's Poems.—TR

Another very serious conversation about Napoleon is recorded by Friedrich Kochlitz who at this time for three weeks enjoyed the friendliest intercourse with Coethe. At the end of the conversation Kochlitz much affected exclaimed "There I think that is enough for today. Only let us not omit to give God the honour and acknowledge his moral government of the world." They had been walking up and down talking. Coethe suddenly stopped and said solemnly — "Acknowledge it who can help acknowledging it? But I for my part in silence! In silence? why in silence?" asked Kochlitz. Coethe replied "Who can express it save for himself? For others who? And when one knows that one cannot utter it it is not permissible."¹

August now reported himself as a volunteer. His father hoped that the Duke knowing how deep was his anxious dread on behalf of his only son would prevent August from going to the war. The Duke made August the companion of Hammerrath Kuhlmann who was going to head quarters in Frankfurt on commissariat business. But this did not suffice to calm Coethe. All my wishes would be fulfilled if it lay in his Serene Highness's plan to keep him for the future in the career on which he has entered and which is thoroughly suitable to his nature and peculiarities in order that sooner or later he may count himself one of those physicians who are called to heal the wounds inflicted by the war. At the same time he would have it in his power to be helpful to me in the little circle of my home and affairs where a heraldary familiar assistance is needed since the endeavour to appropriate others to that end is not always successful and

¹ Kochlitz gave an account of this conversation in the *Jahrb. der Literatur* Band 60. His account is quoted in Dielemann's *Goethe in Leipzig*. Kochlitz's stay in Weimar ended on December 1, 1813.—TR

² This is an allusion to I Peter and John.—TR

one is left anew unprovided"¹ The petition, (which he communicated on December 30, 1813, to Voigt also), betrays a spirit untuned by painful agitation On the following evening Kieser supped at Goethe's, "He was very low spirited, soft," as he said, and did not come to table"

The combat with this strong agitation was bravely continued during the early part of the year of final deliverance, 1814 On January 7, 1814, we find Goethe at table at Court After this the Duke, as Commander-in-Chief of the Saxon Army, went to the Netherlands At this time Kieser was frequently at Goethe's house, one of the servants there having taken the nervous fever "The condition of our Goethe does not at all please me," writes Kieser on January 18, 1814 "Yesterday evening he was again so excitable, so serious, so soft, that I was dreadfully anxious He was gathering all his old engravings together for the sake of occupation, is very cheerful, but after such a peculiar fashion! I fear very much for his life" Yet Goethe dined several times at Court, once upon the arrival of the Empress of Russia, on January 28, and again on the birthday of the Duchess, to whom he dedicated a little poem of congratulation So too he wrote a very good concluding scene³ for *Wallensteins Lager*, which was given as a farewell piece before the *Jäger* volunteers marched out of Weimar to join the war⁴

We find Goethe at this time bitterly annoyed by the insidious intrusion of an empty mysticism⁵ into life and litera-

¹ See Goethe's *Brief an Voigt*, 308 9 —TR

² "Weich"—TR ³ Hempel's *Goethe*, vi 207-9 —TR

⁴ Herr Duntzer thinks that there must have been two "marches out" of volunteers from Weimar in January 1814, one on January 11, the other on January 31 See Goethe to Knebel, January 12, 1814, and Kieser to Luise Seidler, January 31, 1814 —TR

⁵ Goethe to Knebel, January 19, 1814 —TR

ture Poetry as poetry he thought would have no success for a long time since men only craved the effects due to the material of literature. At this time he seems to have begun to pay more attention to von Hammer's translation of the *Duan* of the Persian poet Hafis which had come into his hands in the spring of 1813 he was glad to fly to the refuge of this strange world so strange—and yet so like as a scene of political turmoil In February he had to go to table at Court frequently He began to feel calmer On February 14 he wrote the cheerful verses *Kriegsglück* The Jena institutions continually claimed his attention

Meanwhile August had come back from Frankfurt where he had proved very useful In March 1814 great anxiety was caused by the news of the temporary retreat to which the wonderful generalship of Napoleon compelled the Allies The return of harsh wintry weather now leads Goethe back again

to the indoors of house and of mind.¹ He was already far on with the Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* but the account of the breaking off with Ili seemed a delicate matter to treat while she still lived and accordingly he stayed his advance and leaped over immediately to the Italian journey and completed the account of it as far as Venice The new edition of his *Works* also occupied him Goethe was at this time looking forward with much interest to the arrival of Hofrat Sartorius of Gottingen whose political judgment he valued extremely Sartorius at the wish of the Princess Katharina, had been putting together his thoughts on a new constitution for the Empire

When on April 9 1814 word came that the Allies had entered Paris and all Weimar broke forth in rejoicing Goethe was suffering from violent rheumatic attacks which prevented

¹ Goethe to Knebel March 9 1814 —TR

Goethe to Knebel March 30 1814 —TR

him from leaving the house. He felt the reorganisation of the Empire on a durable basis to be of immense importance, he was oppressed with anxiety lest the union of the victorious powers should not last, and he foresaw what a measureless demand for freedom would now be made by the friends of the People which had hurled itself into the war with such enthusiasm. On the morning of April 15, 1814, news came that Napoleon had abdicated. By this time Goethe was enjoying the presence of Sartorius, with whom he earnestly discussed the future of Germany. He avoided all other political discussion, and accordingly seemed cold in the midst of the glad excitement of those days. But from him not a whit less than from others a heavy burthen had been lifted, anxious as he felt concerning the future development of affairs.

Lying on the Ilm a few miles above Weimar is the little town of Berka. The sulphur spa there had been rising into repute, indeed, Goethe took much interest in it, and did his best to make it known as a health resort. Early in the spring of 1814 he had proposed to himself to try whether the sulphur of Berka would not be good for the rheumatism that tormented him. But it was not until May 13, 1814, that he could get away from Weimar to take up quarters in the top story of the so-called *Edelhof*. In the beginning of this stay he was occupied with a fore-piece for the opening of the summer performances of this year at Halle. The good physician, Professor Reil, who had done a great deal for the baths and theatre of Halle, had fallen a victim to the hospital fever during the past winter. Goethe meant that his fore-piece should not only serve to introduce his company at Halle, but should be a memorial to the good physician. On May 17, 1814, a proposal came from Iffland that Goethe should write for the Berlin stage a fore-piece to celebrate the return of the King of Prussia, who was expected to enter Berlin with the

Czar in about four weeks. At first Goethe thought the interval too short for any composition worthy of the occasion¹ but next day a suitable conception occurred to him. On May 4 1814 he sent to Iffland the programme of *Des Epimenides Erwachen*. The sleep of Epimenides was to symbolise Goethe's own aloofness from the great cause of Fatherland the result of want of faith in the miraculous power that resides in an enthusiastic outbreak of patriotic feeling. The passionate rapid composition of the piece must be ascribed to the desire that Goethe felt to expiate his fault so far as penitent confession might, not to any ambition for the honour of celebrating the triumph of the Prussian capital.

Just at this time Goethe was rendered very anxious by an affair of honour between August and *Rittmeister* von Werthern. A good friend interposed. Privy Councillor von Muller who during the late troubled times had become so important a person for Weimar and who in 1808 was admitted to warm friendly intercourse with Goethe came to visit him at Whit sun tide, and found him in great distress about the impending duel. Muller at his wish undertook to compose the affair and succeeded³.

On receiving word from Iffland that the Berlin fore piece must be performed between July 20 and 24 1814 Goethe set Riemer to work to complete the fore piece for Halle and laboured with such zeal on the other that although he had a

¹ Goethe to Kirms May 18 1814 —TR

Goethe to Kirms May 20 1814 See Goethe's letters to Kirms printed in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* II 274 5. The letter is misdated May 20 it should be May 19 Professor Duntzer calls attention to the words *gestrigen Briefes* which prove this clearly —TR

³ Muller came to Berka on Saturday evening May 28 1814 and spent Whit Sunday with Goethe and Riemer. In the forenoon of Monday Muller went to Weimar and was able to return in time for dinner with the good news. Goethes *Unterhaltungen mit Muller Stuttgart* 1870 —TR

cheery ten-days' visit from his friend F A Wolf, he was able to send off the whole piece on June 15, 1814, with only a few gaps, that could be easily filled. This done, he at last felt perfectly free, and full of new life. This happier mood found expression in blithe poems,¹ even some of the earlier *Divan* lyrics, in imitation of Hafis, being written at this time. He had a visit from Zelter, who met at his lodgings the Berlin *Capellmeister* Weber, sent by Iffland to discuss more carefully various passages of *Epimenides*. Goethe was wishing at this time to go to Wiesbaden for the summer,² but his doctors advised the Bohemian baths. He returned to Weimar in Zelter's companionship.

Weimar was looking forward to the coming of Karl August, she was preparing to deck herself after the gayest fashion to welcome him. Goethe went from street to street, measuring and reckoning, advising and instructing, encouraging and praising, or humorously scolding. He meant that Karl August should have a literary welcome, and he collected a number of poems by Weimar and Jena friends, under the title *Willkommen*,³ several poems of his own were added. But the nosegays and garlands withered, the much-desired one came not, but went to the Aachen baths. And, notwithstanding his doctors, Goethe now resisted no longer the strong impulse that urged him to the banks of the river of the Germans. There, in his native air, among his own people, he trusted to find healing virtue, though in his native city, now again restored to her old freedom, the loving gladness of his good mother would welcome him no more.

¹ *Die Weisen und die Leute, Vergebliche Mühe*, are two written at this time. The first *Divan* lyric, "Hans Adam wir ein Erdenkloss," was written at Berka, June 21, 1814 — See Duntzer's *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, 1 324, and Duntzer, *Goethes Westostlicher Divan*, 22 — TR

² See his letter to Fritz Schlosser, Berka, June 20, 1814 — TR

³ See Goethe's letter to Knebel, Weimar, July 9, 1814 — TR

BOOK IX

NEW LIFE

1814—1823

CHAPTER I

THE RHINE AND MAIN JOURNEYS—MARIANNE WILLEMER—

THE WESTOSTLICHER DIVA^V

JULY 1814—MAY 1816

ON July 25 1814 Goethe accompanied by a servant started for the Rhine. The journey that followed is remarkable for its wealth of song. In the night of July 27¹ he arrived in Frankfurt. Goethe thought the city much altered since he had last seen it seventeen years ago². He alighted in the inn and wandered through the streets alone without visiting any of his friends or relatives³. The drive to Wiesbaden on the warm night of July 29 1814 has its monument in the beautiful poem *All Leben*⁴. In Wiesbaden Goethe found his friend Zelter who had been there since July 1^o. In delightful

¹ Dntzer corrects the misprint dem 25^{stn} in Goethes *Resumé* of the journey. The *Resumé* will be found reprinted in Bernays edition of Goethes letters to Friedrich August Wolf.—TR.

² He had seen Frankfurt last on August 25 1797 see p 156. The change that Goethe perceived was for the better. It will be remembered how he had in former years lamented the decline of Frankfurt. See the footnote vol 1 p 4.—TR.

³ In the two days that followed he saw only some of them. See Goethe to Fritz Schlosser Wiesbaden August 1 1814.—TR.

⁴ *Westostlicher Divan* (Loepers edition) 1. 16 Staub ist eins der Elemente Hempels *Goethe* iv -3.—TR

weather, in the society of old and new friends, he began to use the "cure" after the most regular and careful fashion. He only interrupted it on Sundays, to spend the day in Biberich with the Duke of Nassau-Usingen. One of his new friends was the eminent mineralogist, *Oberbergrath* Cramer of Wiesbaden.

Not long after Goethe's arrival in Wiesbaden,¹ Zelter handed to him a letter from *Staatsrath* Schultz of Berlin, a man who had long been his sincere admirer. In June 1814 Goethe had given to Zelter a copy of the *Propylæn* to send to Schultz, and the letter now received was in the first instance one of thanks for this gift. But Schultz went on to tell how great was his interest in Goethe's *Theory of Colour*, and how he had been studying and making experiments, with the purpose of developing that part of the theory which deals with the physiology of colour. This was the beginning of an interesting friendship, though letters between Goethe and Schultz did not become frequent until the year 1816.

On August 16, 1814, Goethe, Zelter, and Cramer went to see the festival of St Rochus at Bingen, which had been suppressed during the French occupation. Goethe has written an interesting account of the festival, one feels reminded of his pilgrimage to the *Odilienberg* in the old Strassburg days. On August 22, 1814, Karl August, who, it will be remembered, had gone to Aachen for the baths, arrived in Mainz on his return journey. Goethe went to Mainz to meet him, and then went with him to visit the minister Stein in Nassau, and then, with Wiesbaden as centre, the two made excursions to Schlangenbad and other places. August 28, 1814, Goethe's

¹ Goethe has noted on Schultz's letter in his own handwriting that he received it on August 5. It is dated July 29, 1814. See the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Schultz* [Dyk, Leipzig], edited by Duntzer, with a valuable Life of Schultz.—TR

birthday, was a Sunday. He spent it as he spent other Sundays at Biberich. From September 1 to 8 Goethe stayed at the country house of Franz Brentano at Winkel. The first five days were occupied with a series of the most delightful excursions into the Rheingau.¹ On September 8 1814 he returned to Wiesbaden. To the time we have reviewed belong many songs afterwards dispersed in the *Westöstlicher Divan* and the sketch of the *Festival of St Rochus*.

Goethe did not stay long in Wiesbaden after this but returned to Frankfurt² where he yielded himself to the pleasure of coming into nearer contact with his dear fellow citizens. By the reiterated invitation of Fritz Schlosser he stayed in the house of Schlosser's mother the widow of Hieronymus Schlosser, whose thoughtfulness and sympathy removed from Goethe's mind the feeling of strangeness in Frankfurt that he had felt ever since his mother's death and that had made him avoid the city.⁴

During this visit to Frankfurt Goethe formed one of the most important friendships of his life. He had long been acquainted with the *Geheimerath* von Willemer a man of wide and generous culture and sympathy. Willemer was born

¹ Goethe has written the history of these pleasant days — See *Im Rheingau Herbsttage* — TR

See Dunt er *Goethe's Westöstlicher D van 25 29* — TR

³ On September 9 1814 Goethe writes to Fritz Schlosser that he hopes to arrive at Schlosser's house in Frankfurt on the evening of Monday September 1 Creizenach in his book *Goethe und Marianne von Wallmer* p 33 says that Goethe arrived on September 10 in Frankfurt I do not know on what evidence — TR

⁴ See Goethe's letter to Hieronymus Peter Schlosser's widow Weimar December 30 1814 *Goethe Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass* pp 104 5 Among the old friends whom Goethe met were Fiese Kehr (vol 1 p 51) and Georg Schutz (vol 11 pp 9 and 49) The last gave lessons in drawing to Marianne Jung — TR

March 1760, and was thus more than ten years younger than Goethe. He had been married twice, and was soon to marry for the third time. The name of the woman who became his third wife was Maria Anna Jung. She was born November 20, 1784, and accordingly, when Goethe made her acquaintance, she was nearly thirty. Her native place was Linz on the Danube. She had been an actress, and a bewitching one. While she was still very young, Willemer had removed her from the temptations of the stage, and received her into his house among his daughters,¹ where he continually saw more and more reason to esteem and love her. This was the lady whom Goethe now first learned to know.

At this time Sulpiz Boisserée arrived in Frankfurt. He writes to his brother on September 19, 1813, that Goethe is "friendly, loving, and confidential, from the very depth of his heart," soon, accompanied by Christian Schlosser, he will come to Heidelberg. Goethe stayed with the brother, Boisserée, in Heidelberg, from September 24 to October 9, 1814, enjoying the happiest days in the companionship of new friends, and of old friends once known in Jena, among whom were Paulus, Thibaut, and Voss. The glorious collection of paintings of the Boisserées filled Goethe with rapture. He planned to write, with the aid of the possessors, a treatise on this collection, and on the importance of Old German Painting and Architecture in general, and next Easter he would return to Heidelberg and have this treatise printed there.² From

¹ This was in 1800. The whole story of Marianne von Willemer is well told in Creizenach's Introduction to the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*. But Dünzter's paper in *Westermann's Monats-Heft* for September 1870, and Hüsser's in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1878 should be consulted also.—TR

² See Dünzter, *Sulpiz Boisserée. Aus Goethe's Freundschaftsreise*, pp. 323, 324.—TR

Heidelberg Mannheim was visited¹ and on the return to Frankfurt Goethe was accompanied by Sulpiz Boisserée to Darmstadt on Sunday October 9. The time in Frankfurt was again spent delightfully in a large circle of friends. During his absence in Heidelberg Willemer had married Marianne. Goethe was their very frequent and welcome guest. On October 18 1814 many beacon fires commemorating the battle of Leipzig blazed on the hills round Frankfurt. From a tower in Willemer's vineyard Goethe and his two friends saw the spectacle.² On October 19 Frankfurt was illuminated. Next day Goethe left his native city rich in memories of happy friendship. Neither the Senate nor the Directors of the Theatre however, had thought of taking any notice of the presence of their great fellow townsman. The good Willemer, feeling immense exasperation at this, had relieved himself by writing a description spun from his brain of a splendid performance of *Tasso* in Goethe's honour. This description he forwarded to the *Morgenblatt* which printed it and shamed the Directors.³

¹ On Sunday October 1814. See the book called *Südfr. Poissere* vol 1 p 25—the extract from Boisserée's Diary.—TR

They there succeeded in obtaining a drawing of the sketch of Koln Cathedral that had lately been found in an attic—it was in the possession of a man named Moller. Goethe left Darmstadt for Frankfurt on October 10 1814 though it had been his intention to stay until the 11th. Thus Goethe's *Pesumé* of his journey is certainly wrong in placing his return to Frankfurt on October 13. Probably 13 is a misprint for 10. See Sulpiz Boisserée's letters to his brother Melchior October 10 and October 11 1814.—TR

² Goethe was remarkably impressed by the wide prospect of flame tipped hills he refers to it often in *Letters afterwards*.—TR

³ The report was soon challenged and Willemer being called on for an explanation was easily able to make his peace with the editor. But the account of the performance had been already copied by other papers and the contradiction did not prevent many a *Life of Goethe* from adopting the story.—TR

Goethe returned to Weimar on October 27, 1814. Here he was at first completely occupied by business. During his absence the theatre had been opened with a performance of Mullner's *Schuld*, the only one among the modern genuinely poetic dramas that promised to be valuable as an acting piece.¹ Goethe now zealously urged on rehearsals of his monodrama *Proscipina*, in which he meant that Frau Wolff should enjoy a great triumph. The new scene-painter Beuther, an excellent artist, was a great help to Goethe in the representation, in which all the resources of scenic art were skilfully united. It was arranged that Calderon's *Zenobia* should be played on the birthday of the Duchess. In the apartments of the Duchess, Goethe used to read aloud to a select circle every Friday evening something—his own or another's. The first readings were from an account of the journey just terminated.

Goethe writes to Zelter on October 31, 1814—"Infinite treasures of observation and of instruction have been mine, from the Granite on to the labours of Phidias,² and from that backward to our own times," but the resulting distraction was a hindrance to consequent scientific or literary occupation, and the only steady work that he did was the study of the East, and the preparation of the new edition of his *Works*. For this edition, which was estimated to run to twenty volumes, Cotta gave him 16,000 thalers, though the exclusive right to publish was only to last eight years. In the December of 1814 Goethe went to Jena to stay some time, as he had so frequently done before, and to look after the scientific institutions there. He found all in good order, and only had to regret the want of unity among the professors.³ After his return

¹ Compare Goethe's remarks in the early paragraphs of the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1814.—TR

² This will refer chiefly to the visit to Mannheim on October 2.—TR

³ Goethe to Voigt, December 13, 1814.—TR

he became absorbed in the study of the East. He would need the minutest knowledge of the East for his *Westöstlicher Diwan* a work that had already begun to hover before his mind as a whole. And so he read a great deal in the Persian poets. But he was aware of the danger of yielding taste and imagination to the luxuriant charm of Hafis and every day strengthened himself on the eternal nature and truth of Homer.¹ He moreover continued to prepare a largely augmented collection of his poems for the new edition of his *Works*. And he had again begun to work on the diaries and letters that he had sent long ago to Charlotte von Stein and Herder from Italy.

The unfavourable reports that Goethe received through a secret channel of the progress of negotiations at the Congress of Vienna filled him with bitterness and regret. But his old resource for times of oppression and disgust—a steady consequent activity deliberately pursued—proved of good avail.²

A little later, Christiane's terrible attacks of cramp (in the night before February 5 1815 she was thought to be dead) brought him into dire distress.³ It was evident that her recovery could only be temporary. Goethe's life and thoughts were at this time altogether in the East. In February 1815 he composed a series of Hafis lyrics. At the Friday evenings of

¹ Goethe to Boisseree January 2 1815 — Taglich wird eine Pericope aus dem Homer und dem Haf's gelesen wie denn die persischen Dichter gegenw^rtig an der Tagesordnung sind See also Goethe to Knebel January 11 1815 —TR

² Goethe to Lichstadt January 9 1815 See above p 305 —TR

³ Goethe's letter to Knebel February 8 1815 will be found an interesting reference here —TR

⁴ Goethe writes to Willemer April 3 1815 — I have been suffering a great deal my good wife was but two finger breadths from death Now she is up and about while a terrible cold has been my companion for four weeks —TR.

the Duchess, he read aloud from Peissen and Aribert's poem Even the first news of Napoleon's return from Elba, and a terrible cold caught in the beginning of March 1815, were in combination insufficient to check his Habsburg poetry. It is not until after the middle of March that the verse ceased to flow, and he then began to work at the letters which describe his first sojourn in Rome from October 1786 to February 1787.

Goethe's *Epimetheus* was at length acted in Berlin on March 30, 1815, the most unfavourable time possible, for the despot whose downfall it celebrated was again free. Goethe's mental and physical condition was so far from health that in the beginning of April 1815, instead of going himself to inspect the institutions in Jena, he sent his son August. But he sketched the Report relative to this inspection himself, also an Instruction for the custodian of the Jeni museums. The first four volumes of the new edition were now sent off. Though his mood was the most bitter one, he could not bear to omit solemnising the close of the second lustrum that had elapsed since Schiller's death. And he resolved to seize the occasion to do honour to the memory of Ischlind also. The great actor had died in September 1814. So now *Rigurungsath* Peucer was set to work on an after-piece to Ischlind's play, *Die Hagestolzen*. The after-piece closed with an epilogue on the great actor. It was preceded by Schiller's *Ludwig der Glocke*, with Goethe's epilogue again enlarged,¹ and the two last acts of *Die Hagestolzen*. The performance, on the anniversary of Schiller's death, proved very effective.

Meanwhile Goethe continued so poorly that all his friends urged him to go away to a summer watering-place, and the Duchess herself added a kind of command². The doctors,

¹ See page 285 — TR

² Goethe to Knebel, May 10, 1815, Goethe to Voigt, May 10, 1815 — TR

who had advised the Bohemian baths in 1814, were now in favour of Wiesbaden. Thus Goethe who had this time little inclination to leave his home at the season of the year when it was most delightful, was sent forth one might say by forces outside his own will to find in his native Rhine land not only a wonderful renewal of physical health and strength but that noble and beautiful love which brought completeness to his fragmentary *Dichtung*, and to which is due its most exquisite fragrance.

He left Weimar on May 24 1815. From the beginning the journey was rich in *Dichtung* lyrics. On the evening of May 7 Goethe left Frankfurt for Wiesbaden where he arrived late at night. In Wiesbaden all awaited the issue of the new war in painful excitement. The first rumour of Waterloo (June 18) that reached Wiesbaden represented it as a defeat of the Allies, it may then be imagined with what great joy the truth was heard. It was a pleasant surprise to the poet, when the Emperor of Austria conferred on him the Cross of the Order of Leopold while about the same time August was appointed Kammerrath by the Duke of Weimar. In the last week of July 1815 Goethe was with the minister Stein a great deal. Stein had sent him a friendly invitation to Nassau. Goethe converted the journey to Nassau into a mountain excursion and was accompanied on it by the mineralogist Crümer. Stein persuaded Goethe to go on with him to Köln, in order to learn the state of the literary and scientific institutions of the city and to ascertain clearly the wishes of the inhabitants. On Tuesday July 5 1815 Goethe and Stein drove to Coblenz, and then sailed in a large boat down to Köln. There they viewed the Cathedral within and without visited private art collections paid visits drove round the city, in short, saw everything of importance and talked over all questions with able and well informed men.

By Bonn, Andernach, Niedermendig, (where Goethe could not detect any trace of volcanic action), Coblenz, Nassau, he returned to Wiesbaden again¹ Stein had called on him to send to Hardenberg a memoir on Art and Antiquities in the Rhine-land, and Goethe, wishing to take counsel with Boisserée, then in Schlangenbad, wrote urging him to come to Wiesbaden Boisserée came, August 2, 1815² It was arranged that Boisserée should make a sketch of the memoir, and Goethe would execute it himself They spent more than a week in delightful intercourse On the morning of August 11, 1815, they drove to Mainz, on Saturday, August 12, they arrived in Frankfurt Boisserée alighted at an inn, while Goethe went on to Willemer's country-house, the so-called *Geisenmühle*, on the south bank of the Main, between Offenbach and Frankfurt

The four weeks now spent with his dear friends were very happy Marianne's brightness and grace, her singing, the disinterested sympathy in his pursuits (even in his *Farbenlehre*) of which she was capable, her talent for life shown in her power of planning and executing details with decision and self-confidence, above all, her tender, ardent affection, and her thorough understanding of his nature, drew Goethe irresistibly to her She showed especial pleasure in his *Divan*, from which, by his own preference, he read many poems But not only Marianne made his stay delightful, there was Willemer himself, and Willemer's daughter Rosette Stadel, a refined, cultivated woman, who, since her husband's death in 1802, had lived in her father's house, both of them showed cordial affection for the

¹ He reached Wiesbaden, July 31, 1815 Our knowledge of the days spent by Stein and Goethe in Köln is partly derived from Arndt's book *Meine Wanderungen mit Stein* There is also a diary by Goethe, giving a brief note of the events of each day *Sulpiz Boisserée*, II 65 —TR

² Boisserée has left a remarkably full diary of the time that he now spent with Goethe See *Sulpiz Boisserée*, I 249-294 —TR

poet and joy in his presence¹ His birthday was kept with all honour Among other gifts having connection with the *Dran* he received a turban of the finest muslin wreathed with laurel, this was a reference to his song Komm Liebchen komm umwinde mir die Mutze Marianne and Rosette vied in deed in amusing him by roguish allusions to the *Dran* and his Persian beloved.

On Friday, September 8 1815 Goethe went to live in Frankfurt in Willemer's town house Now began an exchange of brightlyrics between the old poet and the Suleika of the *Gerbermühle* who had grown so dear

On September 1 F g F m m t ry of th , 8 9
he sent her the lovely p d d th c d dt f C h b r f
poem — Nicht t l l w l n G th t M r n e ll er

Gelegenheit macht Diebe Marianne replied immediately with the admirable verses beginning — Hochbeglückt in deiner Liebe From Frankfurt Goethe also sent her a leaf

¹ Beside Rosette Willemer had three children two daughters both married and a son known as Brammy in the family — TR

² *Westostlicher Dran* (Loepers edition) v n 14 Hempels Goethe
IV 130 — TR



Marianne Willemer

of the eastern plant *Gingo biloba* as a symbol of cordial friendship. One day amid the tumult of the fair,¹ Marianne was overjoyed to meet her beloved poet on the arm of her husband. With Boisserée Goethe went to see many collections of paintings, and enjoyed the society of old friends. On Wednesday, September 13, he announced to the delighted Boisserée that he would go to Heidelberg with him on the following Monday.

He returned to the *Gerbezmühle* on Friday, September 15,² and gave Marianne a shawl bought at the fair, while in exchange she gave him a Turkish Order with Sun and Moon, roguishly protesting that a Turkish merchant had given it to her for the great poet. During the following Saturday and Sunday, she filled Goethe with delight by her "beautiful and sympathetic"³ rendering of some of his poems, of many pretty *Volkshieder*, and of the aria from *Don Giovanni*—"Gib mir die Hand mein Leben"⁴. In the dialogue between Suleika and Hatem beginning—"Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffste," Goethe gave exquisite expression to his feeling that these days could never be forgotten. That Sunday evening

¹ See Marianne to Goethe, April 27, 1824.—TR

² During his stay in Frankfurt he had paid Röhrl that visit which she calls her "Adelsdiplom." It was nearly three weeks earlier, August 20, 1815, that she caught sight of Goethe in a carriage with the Willemers and Rosette, and ran towards the carriage crying, "Da ist Goethe!" Goethe had met her, I think, but once before—in July 1795, at Karlsbad. See p. 136.—TR

³ Goethe to Zelter, Weimar, October 29, 1815,—"Von öffentlicher Musik habe ich auf meiner Reise nichts erfreuliches gehört. Einzelne liebenswürdige Stimmen zu Clavier und Guitarre sind mir sehr anmuthig gekommen. *Gott und die Bayaderen* hört' ich vortragen, so schon und innig als nur denkbar"—TR

⁴ She sang this with such bewitching charm that Goethe said she was herself a little Don Juan, whereupon all present laughed heartily, and she hid her face in the music.—*Sulpiz Boisserée*, I 280-1.—TR

(September 17¹) on which the trio from *Don Giovanni* was sung was the last of Goethe's and Boisseree's stay at the *Gerbermühle*. They were all very gay those pleasant familiar jokes that are sure to come into existence when people are happy were reiterated with especial enjoyment. Then Marianne put on her turban and wrapped herself in the Turkish shawl and all sit listening while Goethe read aloud Persian love poems perhaps some of his own *Dinan* songs. On the afternoon of Monday September 18 1815 Goethe started for Heidelberg with Boisseree Willemer had promised to come to Heidelberg with Marianne and his daughter.

The memoir for Hardenberg which was to be called *Von Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* had now grown to a book of manuscript a finger thick³ Goethe and Boisserée drove to Darmstadt as their first stage through woods where beautiful lights from the afternoon sun played on the tree stems and the grass. Tuesday, September 19 was spent in Darmstadt and at noon on the 10th they arrived in Heidelberg. During the next few days Goethe saw a great deal of his old Jena friend Paulus, they vied with each other in imitating the complex Arabian characters⁴ and he exchanged

¹ Observe that in Boisseree's Diary there is a date omitted after September 16 which puts the subsequent dating until September 19 wrong by one. There is no September 17. *Dinner on Goethe's Westwall her Dan* 1878 p 59 — TR

St 1/6 Boisse 1 281 — We remained together until one o'clock. It was a beautiful moonlight night. Goethe detained me with him for a while in his room we chat then it occurs to him to show me the experiment of the coloured shadow I step out on the balcony with a wax taper and are watched from a window by the little woman Hermann Grimm long after saw with Marianne a comical sketch of Goethe holding a light out of the window in order to see the moon more clearly — TR

³ See Sulpiz Boisseree's Diary September 10 1815 — TR

⁴ See Goethe to I nebel October 1 1815 — TR

many a pleasant jest with Paulus's merry little wife, who made fun of their efforts On this visit to the Boisserées, Goethe devoted special attention to the study of the Cathedral of Kohn, and he had the sketches of the Cathedral towers hung up in his room He wrote some beautiful lyrics to the absent Marianne at the old Castle, and he wrote or scratched her cipher on the fountain near the terrace¹

Meanwhile the Willemers had set out to pay the promised visit On the morning of Saturday, September 23, 1815, Marianne wrote at Darmstadt² the noble song of yearning addressed to the East Wind³ At noon, on the same day, the travellers surprised Boisseree and Goethe in Heidelberg⁴ Between this and the afternoon of September 26, when the friends from the *Gerbermühle* left, several *Divan* lyrics were written One of them was the beautiful *Wiederfinden*,⁵ a glorious utterance of the joy of reunion When they went to the Castle for the last time Goethe pulled a leaf of *Ginkgo biloba* for Marianne, and he pressed a kiss on her forehead A noisy crew of Russian soldiers rushed in and interrupted them as they sat and talked⁶ A memorial inscription has lately been placed on the spot which this rare love-scene has

¹ See the dialogue —“An des lust'gen Brunnens Rund” Looper's edition of the *Westostlicher Divan*, viii 34 —TR

² See Duntzer, *Goethes Westostlicher Divan*, p 64 —Ti

³ *Westostlicher Divan*, viii 39 —

“Was bedeutet die Bewegung?

Bringt der Ostwind frohe Kunde?” —TR

⁴ Bousserée had written to Willemer to come on Monday (the 25th) Hence the surprise —TR

⁵ “Ist es möglich! Stern dei Sterne” Looper's edition of the *Divan*, viii 43 —TR

⁶ This was in the so called *Stuckgarten* Forty-five years later, in 1860, Marianne, on a visit to the Castle, gave these details to a sympathetic friend See the little book by Frau Emilie Kellner (*née* Andrea), *Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika*, pp 43 48 —TR

rendered memorable. Before parting finally, Goethe and Marianne planned to write to each other in cypher. Each had a copy of Hammer's translation of the *Diwan* of Hafis. By sending to each other the numbers of certain pages and of a certain line on each page they could make letters.¹ They moreover promised to think of each other when full moon came round again. It had been full moon during Marianne's stay in Heidelberg. On Tuesday September 26 1815 the Willemer party left for home. A few hours later Marianne wrote at Darmstadt the beautiful song to the West Wind.² Goethe and Marianne never met again.

Some weeks before Karl August had written from Baden to Goethe that he would be in Heidelberg soon after September 20. At length on Thursday September 28 he arrived.³ On Friday he went to see the Boisseree's collection of paintings. On Saturday September 30 Goethe and he went to Mannheim and on October 1 Goethe returned alone to Heidelberg. The composition of beautiful Suleika lyrics went on during these days. Monday October 2 was spent in resting and on Tuesday the 3d he drove with Boisserée to Karlsruhe.⁴

¹ See Goethe's notes to his *Diwan* article *Chiffre* — TR

See the *Westostlicher Diwan* VIII. 44 *Lotto und ta ht* — TR

³ *Westostlicher Diwan* VIII. 4 —

Ach um deine feuchten Schwingen

West wie sehr ich dich beneide

Frau Emilie Kellner (p. 30) tells a story of the great emotion with which Marianne once heard Jenny Lind sing these verses — TR

⁴ This is established by Goethe's letter to Voigt Heidelberg October 1 1815 — TR

⁵ They returned on October 5. Loisserée's Diary is remarkably full and interesting at this point. After talking of the Cathedral of Köln and of the Willemers Goethe mentioned how forty years before he had often gone to visit Lili in Offenbach along the path near the *Gerberthal*. In Karlruhe Goethe saw Jung Stilling again (after a lapse of forty years). Jung was very cold. Goethe also met Johann Peter Hebel in Karlsruhe — TR

On Goethe's return to Heidelberg he found awaiting him an invitation from Madame Jagemann-Heyndorf, who was at Mannheim in the Duke's company, to come and see tableaux and what-not at the festivities there. Goethe disliked Caroline Jagemann very much. It was a hateful summons from the free, simple life in the companionship of kindred souls that he had been leading for some months, the aristocratic society of princes and actors seemed very base and mean in comparison. He fell into a state of painful nervousness, he feared every moment to receive a letter from Karl August supporting the invitation. Flight was his thought. He started on October 7, 1815, taking the sketch of the Cathedral with him. Boisseree dared not let him travel alone in his vexed state of mind and body, and went with him. But he recovered as the chance of being overtaken by the Duke diminished, and on October 9, at Wurzburg, Boisseree could see him depart for Weimar alone without apprehension. On this and the following day (October 10), although the demons ceased not to make mouths at him occasionally,¹ Goethe wrote two *Divan* lyrics,² which allude to the genius for poetry of Marianne. He reached Weimar on October 11, 1815, having been absent since the 24th of May.

The days that followed his return were full of disquiet. His first trouble was the loss of Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife, his best actors, who owed so much to the culture received from him. During his journey he had been communicating

¹ Goethe to Sulpiz Boisseree, Weimar, October 23, 1815 — "Den 11 October kam ich in Weimar an, nachdem mir zuletzt die Dämonen noch einige Gesichter geschnitten hatten" — TR.

² *Westostlicher Divan*, VIII 35 — "Krum dass ich dich wieder habe" (October 9), *Westostlicher Divan*, VIII 23 — "Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarladchen" (October 10). As to the wrong date (October 7) given to the former of these two lyrics in the quarto edition, see Duntzer, *Goethes Westostlicher Divan*, p. 74 — TR.

with Wolff who compelled by weak health to go to baths in the beginning of July 1815 had asked an extension of leave of absence This Goethe by Kirms advice had at first refused but had afterwards granted it on pressing repetitions of the request The Wolffs were meanwhile offered very good terms by the Direction of the Theatre of Berlin The hostility of Kirms the uncertainty of affairs in Weimar where Goethes resignation of the managership was always to be feared and the general inferiority of the position there made the Wolffs determine on accepting the offer from the capital In a letter addressed to Goethe dated September 8 1815 they announced their intention of leaving Weimar next Easter when their contract would expire They gratefully acknowledged how great was their debt to the master But Goethe was pained to find that Wolff could take a step of this kind without speaking a word to him Any attempt to have such a formal notice repealed seemed to Goethe unworthy of the dignity of the Commission of the Theatre as he declared to the Hereditary Prince who wished him to sound the Wolffs to discover on what terms they would stay Finally Karl August left the affair to the Commission Goethe moved Voigt to make a last attempt but it was no use Wolff considered it right to adhere to his resolve , he longed for a wider circle of activity

Goethe was moreover disquieted about his own future since in the imminent re adjustment of the Ministry his functions and his rank would come in question Not having been asked for advice he held altogether in the background The greater accordingly was his pleasure when on November 30 1815 he heard through Voigt that, retaining his present duties he was appointed First Minister with a salary of 3000 thalers and an allowance for an equipage The appointment of the Ministry was completed on the following day Soon

after, in December 1815, Goethe went to inspect the scientific institutions in Jena, where indeed he had already spent a week in the previous month.

Meanwhile, the essay *Von Kunst und Literatur am Rhein und Main* had advanced, notwithstanding manifold hindrances; the *Divan* had been growing richer and richer, and the friendship with Willemer and Marianne had been fostered by an interchange of letters and poems, which were the beginning of one of the most interesting and charming among Goethe's correspondences. Towards the end of 1815 Goethe "was again very poorly." As for the Theatre, pretty nearly all pleasure in it was gone, what with the approaching loss of his best pupils, and the complaining and nagging of Kirms about costume belonging to the Theatre, which he said Frau Wolff was bound to restore to the management. Moreover, the actors were on bad terms amongst themselves. Still, when they appeared on the stage, the audience felt that their power of acting together was remarkable. Such, for instance, was the feeling on the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, when *Epimetheus Erwachen* was acted, (though with all the beauty and effectiveness of detail, the piece as a whole was hard to comprehend). This was the first appearance of the play in Weimar, some alterations had been made. Karl August, who had the advancement of the study of Natural Science at heart, began to show great zeal for improving the scientific institutions of Jena, and accordingly a good deal of Goethe's attention was devoted to them. And the Duke also took lively interest in the meteorological observations begun by Goethe in 1815¹.

On the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, the Order of the White Falcon of Watchfulness was solemnly

¹ See *Tag und Jahres-Hefte*, 1815, Goethe to Karl August, January 17, 1816, and *Wolkengestalt nach Howard* in *Zur Meteorologie*. — FK

revived, and the Grand Cross of the Order given to Goethe and Voigt. *Vigilans, ascedimus*—nothing could be nearer



F Goeth th th G d C f th O d f th F I Draw by
F d d J m F m ra by C. M. II

the heart of Goethe's belief than this the ancient Word of the Order! Voigt had composed a Prologue for the ceremony

Goethe delivered a short speech of thanks. With February 1816 the *Divan* poetry ceased, but the songs were now arranged and revised, the study of the East was continued, and in the middle of February an announcement of the *West-östlicher Divan* was sent to the *Morgenblatt*. By the beginning of March the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* was printed. In this Goethe considered that he had performed a duty towards his Fatherland, though, what with the German "many-mindedness" (*Vielmeinerei*), he did not expect much result from it¹.

The Grand Duke had promised a constitution to his people more liberal than that given seven years before. The ceremony of sanction of the Constitution was appointed to take place on April 7, 1816, when Goethe and Voigt were to stand on the right of the throne. "On the 2d of April," writes Goethe, "I was attacked by curious, not dangerous, but severe rheumatic illness, and had to go to bed. So far as I could judge, it would be impossible to be in my place on the 7th. Then fortunately a Napoleonic saying came into memory—*L'Empereur ne connaît autre maladie que la mort*, and I said accordingly that, if not dead, I would appear at Court on Sunday at twelve o'clock. It appears as though the doctor and Nature took to heart this tyrannic saying, for I stood on Sunday, at the right hour, in my place on the right hand next the throne. And at table, too, I was able to satisfy all obligations. Afterwards I came home again, and went to bed."² He was very much grieved when, on April 18, 1816, the Duke told him of the death of the good Empress of

¹ Compare Goethe to S. Boisserée, June 8, 1816—"Leider aber wird bei dieser verworrenen und gleichgültigen Weltverfassung das Gemeine *was nicht hilft, wenn's nur nicht schadet!* schon einige Beruhigung geben können"—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, May 3, 1816.—TR.

Austria The liberally-conceived Fundamental Statute of the Constitution framed in concert with the Deputies was published on May 5 1816 Goethe was no friend of freedom of the Press nor of constitutional popular rights which seemed to him to be hindrances to vigorous government

CHAPTER II

SEVEN YEARS ON THE HEIGHTS

1816-1823

GOETHE may now be considered to have reached a high table-land of life, and during the next seven years we rather picture him as traversing this table-land in assured possession of the many glorious and valuable things that it had to give, than as climbing to a goal with painful renunciation and toil. Old age had not begun, yet he had all the luminous wisdom that usually comes only when the decay of the power of enjoyment has sadly lessened the value of wisdom. We will not take all the events of these years in chronological order, but will group them under certain headings. And first we will consider—

Goethe's domestic and personal circumstances— The period began with one of the great sorrows of his life. Christiane was again attacked by dreadful spasms, her suffering filled him with anguish. On June 3, 1816, when sending the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum* to Fritz Schlosser, he excuses the brevity of his note by the “grievous domestic misfortune” that is his hindrance. Three days later death delivered poor Christiane from indescribable agony. Goethe has left in both verse and prose record of the deep

sorrow that he felt¹ August Goethe writes on June 10 1816 to Fritz Schlosser — “Honoured friend when I tell you that my dear mother is dead it is enough to make our condition real to you My father tries to bear up by aid of a steady activity and I derive energy from the thought of being useful and pleasant to him in domestic and social relations

A few days after this the poet of *Herder* met the Lotte of Wetzlar again. She came to Weimar to visit her sister the wife of Kammerrath Riedel Kestner had died sixteen years ago³ Lotte still took full interest in life and met Goethe with cordial friendliness Dressed in white with her slight form

¹ The lines written on the day of Christiane's death are—

Du versuchst O Sonne vergebens
Durch die dunklen Wolken zu scheinen
Der ganze Gewinn meines Lebens
Ist ihren Verlust zu beweinen

To Zelter on June 8 1816 he writes — When I tell you sturdy well tried son of old Earth that my dear little wife has in these days left us you will understand what that means At the close of a dictated letter to Boisseree June 8 1816 he writes with his own hand — I add that my dear little wife has in these days left us and my dear friends will assuredly feel for me To Luise Seidler he writes June 12 1816 — With my great loss the only way to make life endurable is to reckon up gradually all the goodness and love that is still left to me To Alexander von Humboldt who had sent him a copy of his book *On the Distribution of Plant forms on the Earth* Goethe replied on June 12 1816 with the eight beautiful lines beginning An Trauertagen to be found in the division of his poems *Aus Personen* When Christiane was dying Goethe kneeling by her bedside broke forth in the despairing cry Thou wilt not leave me no! no thou can't not leave me! When the end drew near and the doctor called him saying that it was time to come if he desired to see her again he followed sobbing He took her hand and caressed her brow She opened her eyes and tried to speak but could only make inarticulate sounds He left the room in an agony of sorrow — TR

her significant eyes, her fine profile, and her cultivated, intellectual personality, she made a charming impression, only her head shook continually, as is noted by Charlotte von Schiller

The death of Goethe's wife made him wish more than ever for an affectionate young daughter-in-law. His eye rested on Ottilie von Pogwisch, the granddaughter of an old lady whose hearty fondness for fun had made her well known in Weimar. The Countess Henckel von Donnersmark, accompanied by her daughter Henriette, the widow of a Major von Pogwisch, and two granddaughters, had arrived in the train of the Crown-Princess in 1804. Ottilie was the elder of the two granddaughters. As a child she had been used to sing at Goethe's house-concerts, and had attracted him by her grace, her friendliness, her beautiful voice, and her thorough musical knowledge. She was sympathetic and intellectual, and was an ardent enthusiast about Goethe. (This did not prevent her from delight in Jean Paul, also, between whom and Goethe there were such fundamental differences.) Her family life had been a disorganised thing, she slept at her grandmother's, and only spent a few hours every day with her mother, and then dined somewhere else! August was not averse to this bride. And so, on January 1, 1817, Goethe writes to Zelter that the betrothal has taken place. The Court and the city regarded the match with favour. Very pleasant results for society in Weimar might be expected, people thought. The grandmother and her sons had had some objection on the score of August's birth, but soon dropped it, still, malicious tongues were busy about the marriage.

Goethe roughly advised the bride not to contradict his son, who always wished to be praised, if she wanted to scold, let her come to himself. Already August had the tendency to dissolute, sensual indulgence, that destroyed his constitution in the end. Goethe hoped that an intellectual woman like

Ottolie would bring him into other ways and that the very oppositeness of their characters would be the foundation of a genuine domestic happiness. Later there was a fiction current in Weimar about a connection between August and an actress one of those who fill a mute part at a theatre this woman the story ran came to Goethe's box one evening and throwing herself before him implored him to sanction her marriage with his son. On June 17 1817 August and Ottolie were married in the strictest family privacy for Goethe as we know¹ could not bear external ceremonies of this kind. The young pair had to content themselves with the top story of Goethe's house which was however made as pretty and cosy as could be. To Ottolie it seemed heaven. Frau von Schardt recounts to live at length on firm ground in her own house. According to the same fine observer the two young people were happy like children when a great deal of care has been taken for them their new furnished rooms were filled with the perfume of flowers and with peace. The papa is very fond of his daughter in law writes Frau von Schardt when he was in Jena she had to write to him every week so too he wrote to her. He shared with her all the treasures which he cherishes *con amore* or produces.

At this period Goethe spent most of his time in Jena living first in the Castle and then in the ruined gardener's house at the Botanic Gardens where he stayed even during the winter. In the spring of 1818 he occupied the rooms on the top story of the inn *Zur Tanne* at Camsdorf a suburb of Jena. From these rooms he had a lovely view². He remained in them until the end of June 1818. It was only

¹ See pp 144 and 163 —Tr

² In Duntzer's *Charlotte zu Stein* II. 450 I there are long and interesting extracts from Frau von Schardt's letters —Tr

³ See Goethe's letter to Zelter February 16 1818 —Tr.

now and then that he came over to Weimar, as, for instance, to the masked ball of the 18th of February 1818. On this occasion he caught a cold, the effects of which lasted a long time.

On April 9, 1818, he was gladdened by news of the birth of his grandson, Walther Wolfgang. The birth was a painful one. "The poor young papa has endured a great deal," writes Charlotte von Schiller, "and I believe even more through the womankind around [Ottolie's family and Adele Schopenhauer, who were in great excitement] than through his wife's condition. His bright, troubled face has made him still dearer to me." Goethe saw his grandson first on April 14, after the christening. His joy in the birth of this grandson found expression in the humorous mineralogical *Cradle-Song*¹.

The new German Constitution granted right of migration free from taxes. Goethe had accordingly withdrawn his property so far as possible from Frankfurt, and in order to escape the civic tax and other burthens, had declared through an attorney his resignation of civic rights. Many had expected that the Senate of Frankfurt would make him a freeman of the city,² but Goethe's withdrawal of property had embittered them, and they showed their displeasure. Not only did they make a detailed note on December 9, 1817, of Goethe's retirement from citizenship, but, contrary to usage, they crossed

¹ *Wiegenlied dem jungen Mineralogen Walter von Goethe, 21 April 1818*. He had his grandson received at once into the Mineralogical Society of Jena.—TR

² Dalberg had this plan when Prince Primate, but the War of Liberation had removed him from power. See for fuller accounts of these negotiations that by Schlosser, *Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, pp 25-6, and by Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp 95-6. Another reference given in these books is Ruppell in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1855.—TR

out the original entry of his name made in the autumn of 1771, when after his return from Strassburg he had become a citizen of Frankfurt¹. And later when he wanted to sell a house they made the transaction difficult. All this did not tend to make him more anxious to visit his native city. In July 1816 he had started for Frankfurt accompanied by Meyer, but the carriage was upset and this omen deterred Goethe from going to the Rhine in that year. In 1817 the claims of Jena prevented it his only pure pleasure trip in that year was a visit on his birthday to the noble monastery ruin Paulinzelle where his son surprised him with a secretly prepared banquet. And henceforth a mysterious voice prevented him from visiting his native city notwithstanding many friendly invitations. In 1818 he went to Karlsbad again and geology reassured her old empire. But at the close of his stay² a bad cold overtook him and he was not well until some days after his return to Weimar. In October 1818 he had a visit from his dear Zelter.

Goethe's home life was at this time extremely pleasant. In the middle of the day he dined with his family which had been lately increased by the addition of Ottilie's younger sister Ulrike who though weakly gladdened the household with a bright affectionate presence. Then there were friends who alternated in their attendance at the dinner table and who came pretty regularly in the evenings. The most constant of these visitors were Heinrich Meyer Riemer Privy Councillor von Muller⁴ and the Countess Julie von Egloff.

¹ See vol 1 p 161 —TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tage & id Jahres Heft* for 1817 that though he had been so forty years traversing Thuringen in all directions he had never visited these ruins before —TR

³ Goethe was in Karlsbad from the close of July until the middle of September 1818 —TR

⁴ Muller had been head of the Judiciary as Chancellor von Muller since 1815 —DUNTZER

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The new German Constitution granted right of migration free from taxes. Goethe had accordingly withdrawn his property so far as possible from Frankfurt, and in order to escape the civic tax and other burthens, had declared through an attorney his resignation of civic rights. Many had expected that the Senate of Frankfurt would make him a freeman of the city,² but Goethe's withdrawal of property had embittered them, and they showed their displeasure. Not only did they make a detailed note on December 9, 1817, of Goethe's retirement from citizenship, but, contrary to usage, they crossed

¹ *Wiegenlied dem jungen Mineralogen Walter von Goethe*, 21 April 1818. He had his grandson received at once into the Mineralogical Society of Jena.—TR

² Dalberg had this plan when Prince Primte, but the War of Liberation had removed him from power. See for fuller accounts of these negotiations that by Schlosser, *Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, pp. 25-6, and by Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp. 95-6. Another reference given in these books is Ruppell in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1855.—TR

out the original entry of his name made in the autumn of 1771 when after his return from Strassburg he had become a citizen of Frankfurt¹. And later, when he wanted to sell a house they made the transaction difficult. All this did not tend to make him more anxious to visit his native city. In July 1816 he had started for Frankfurt accompanied by Meyer, but the carriage was upset and this omen deterred Goethe from going to the Rhine in that year. In 1817 the claims of Jena prevented it. His only pure pleasure trip in that year was a visit on his birthday to the noble monastery ruin Paulinzelle where his son surprised him with a secretly prepared banquet. And henceforth a mysterious voice prevented him from visiting his native city notwithstanding many friendly invitations. In 1818 he went to Karlsbad again and geology reasserted her old empire. But at the close of his stay³ a bad cold overtook him and he was not well until some days after his return to Weimar. In October 1818 he had a visit from his dear Zelter.

Goethe's home life was at this time extremely pleasant. In the middle of the day he dined with his family, which had been lately increased by the addition of Ottilie's younger sister Ulrike who though weakly gladdened the household with a bright affectionate presence. Then there were friends who alternated in their attendance at the dinner table and who came pretty regularly in the evenings. The most constant of these visitors were Heinrich Meyer Riemer Privy Councillor von Muller⁴ and the Countess Julie von Egloff.

¹ See vol 1 p 161 — TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for 1817 that though he had been for forty years traversing Thuringen in all directions he had never visited these ruins before — TR.

³ Goethe was in Karlsbad from the close of July until the middle of September 1818 — TR.

⁴ Muller had been head of the Judiciary as Chancellor von Muller since 1815 — DUNTZER.

stein The young lady last named, then only sixteen, charmed Goethe by her intellect and grace, and a decided talent for painting Another welcome guest was the architect Coudray Coudray had been in the service of the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, and on its dissolution was engaged by Weimar

At the close of 1818 the Empress-Mother of Russia visited Weimar Goethe was called on for a masque, and could not refuse In order to concentrate his thoughts he withdrew to Berka, and there in a wonderfully short time the extensive work was composed The ladies and gentlemen who filled the various parts had to come to Berka to be drilled The scene at the performance on December 18, 1818, was one of the highest of our poet's triumphs¹

After this Goethe remained for a considerable time in Weimar In the spring he suffered a painful loss On March 22, 1819, Christian Gottlob von Voigt died There were indeed few with whom Goethe's life had been more closely knit for many years, not merely through their relation as men of business, but as human beings in the full sense

Voigt's death left a vacancy in the *Superintendence*² of literary and scientific institutions August Goethe was accordingly now appointed to a place in it subordinate to his father Twelve days before the death of Voigt another old friend had departed Friedrich Jacobi died suddenly in Munchen, March 10, 1819 Goethe's heart, in spite of all that had happened, had still clung to Jacobi in deep affection His last greeting had been a letter introducing Luise Seidler when she went to Munchen nearly two years ago (July 1817) In May 1819 Goethe sent his son and his daughter-in-law to

¹ This, the most important of all Goethe's *Maskenzüge*, was also the last. See Goethe to Knebel, December 26, 1818 Goethe to Zelter, January 4, 1819 —TR

² See pp 287 and 353 —TR

Berlin to visit his nephew *Staatsrat* Nicolovius¹ and other friends there. Soon after this August Goethe lost his best friend through the departure of Ernst Schiller, who, unable to find a permanent situation in Weimar, went to Köln as *Assessor*.

In March 1819 Goethe had an unexpected visit from Willemer who was going to Berlin to beg mercy from the King of Prussia for the young officer who had killed his son Brumby in a duel in the summer of 1818. The friendliest relation had been kept up with the Willemers through all these years. Willemer promised to return from Berlin by Weimar but was unable to do so. In July 1819 Marianne went to Baden and thence she wrote to Goethe a letter in which she spoke ingenuously of the deep emotion that had been stirred when she recalled old memories which Willemer's visit to Weimar had in several ways wakened again with great vividness. Goethe was deeply moved by this letter. He wrote a short passionate assurance of affection he even fell into the use of the passionate.

*Du*² Marianne's silence³ was hardly needed to remind him of his accustomed self monition *Nicht weiter!* At the close of August 1819 Goethe went to Kürsbitz. Before his departure he sent to Willemer a copy of the *Westostlicher Divan*. There are poems by Marianne in it but how much more does it owe her than those few lyrics beautiful as they are!

¹ Georg Heinrich Ludwig Nicolovius married Marie Anna Luise Schlosser Goethe's niece the daughter of Cornelia.—TR

² It is noteworthy that nearly all Goethe's letters in the Willemer correspondence up to this point are addressed either (a) to Willemer or (b) to Rosette Stadel or (c) to Willemer and Marianne collectively. This becomes more noteworthy when we remember how he avoided visiting Frankfurt.—TR

³ Goethe to Marianne von Willemer July 26 1819.—TR

⁴ She did not reply until a little later than the middle of August when she was again in Frankfurt. Goethe had written on August 5 1819 to Willemer — *Nach Baden habe ich gleich geschrieben man wird verzeihen wenn ich zu aufrichtig gewesen bin* — TR

There was a fine celebration of Goethe's birthday in Frankfurt in this year (1819), and his friends sent him a golden laurel-wreath with emeralds At this time, too, some important men joined in proposing a monument to the poet at Frankfurt, it was to be a hall erected on a hill with a bust of Goethe high placed, the hall adorned with pictures whose subjects should be taken especially from *Heinrich und Dorothea*

On December 5, 1819, Friedrich Stolberg died His death affected Goethe the more because of the violent attacks which Voss had made on Stolberg shortly before The tenderness with which Goethe treasured all memories of the friendship that had begun when he and the Stolbergs were young together was outraged by this harshness of Voss In this December of 1819 Goethe had a severe illness, the after results of which compelled him to strict seclusion for a while In the previous year he had begun to hold almost altogether aloof from Court.

At this time August was growing more and more gloomy and irregular in conduct His position in Weimar, where he was expected to play the part of son of his father, to whom he was considered an appendage, drove him to despair, and in his disgust he abandoned himself with less and less restraint to a sensual life Towards his father he showed deep affection and faithful obedience, came every morning to receive his commissions, and, when not compelled to go to Court, dined with him, but in the evenings generally followed his own inclination The superintendence of the cabinet of coins and the cabinet of natural history was performed by August with great care, in all things, indeed, he was a model of order An enthusiastic admiration for Napoleon filled him, he gathered everything connected with the great conqueror that he could lay hands on¹ His heart throbbed with the desire for genuine

¹ Cp Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, January 17, 1827, March 7, 1830 —TR

friendship, which he could not find. The periods of abandonment to excess always lasted but a short time. He had little feeling for plastic art, but fine appreciation of great poetry, thus he loved and admired the noble creations of his father and of Schiller. His own mind found expression in poems deep in feeling but generally lacking in completeness of form.

In the year 1820 Goethe's visit to Karlsbad was very early, for the winter had used him ill. In Augt he made the acquaintance of Joseph Christian Grilner, the mining tract who examined his pass. Grilner came to return the pass in person. His reverential affection, his fondness for mineralogy and history, and his power of true observation attracted Goethe much, who promised on his return from Karlsbad to stay longer in Augt. This was on April 26, 1820, on May 28 Goethe arrived in Augt af dn, and spent a pleasant day with Grilner. After this a close friendship grew between them. "Goethe was of high stature," writes Grilner,¹ "of strong robust build, the brownish hair slightly bleached, the brow high arched, the eye still fresh and fiery, the colour white and red. The features of the countenance were strong, the chin somewhat prominent, the neck considerably fleshy." Usually he wore a dark blue over coat that came to the ankles, at times too a black frock coat and trousers of the same colour. A fine white or black silk waistcoat, a white cumbre scarf folded small and laid round the neck and the ends joined by a breastpin should not be omitted. On account of his full bloodedness he had used himself to wear his neck cloth very loose.

After his return from Karlsbad Immensen detained him in Jen a long time, he lived in the Botanic Garden as before. Here, in August 1820, he had the pleasure of a visit from Schultz, who was accompanied by the artiste Schinkel,

¹ See the book *Urteile und innliche Erkenntnisse Goethes und d'm Faule Crilner*, Leipzig, 1853 - 18.

Tieck, and Rauch The last two made models of Goethe's bust On September 18, 1820, Goethe's second grandson, Wolfgang Maximilian, was born Ottilie's sufferings had been long and severe, and there was grave fear that she would not recover Goethe returned to Weimar before the middle of October 1820, and had a pleasant fortnight's visit from Fritz Schlosser and his wife Their secession to the Catholic Church had not made Goethe less friendly During this winter he did not leave his house

In the spring of 1821 there was a renewal of the old dominion of music Eberwein and his wife gave small and large concerts at Goethe's house In June 1821 Goethe procured one of Streicher's pianos Meanwhile the project of erecting a memorial to Goethe at Frankfurt had not been forgotten In May 1821 the committee was able to report that the city had given a site, that the likeness of Goethe had been ordered, that a design of the building had been made, and that a considerable sum had been collected in Frankfurt The committee called upon the sovereigns and the peoples of Germany for contributions, and the subscription was fixed at ten gulden Goethe feared that the affair was planned on too large a scale, he wished that the monument had been brought into connection with the new Library From the beginning there was, indeed, something wrong-headed about the management of the affair, and all, to Goethe's annoyance, ran away as it were into the sand in a strange fashion, not even the setting up of his likeness in the Library being accomplished The subscriptions were paid back, and when many givers refused to take theirs, the sum that remained was expended in sending to the poet regularly on his birthdays a quantity of the noble wine of his native country

Goethe felt very unwell in the summer of 1821 At the end of July accordingly the doctors sent him to Marienbad, a

new health resort dependent on the Abbey of Lepl In Marienbad notwithstanding the rainy weather, many stones were hummered and a good stock of specimens gathered Goethe's after cure in Karlsbad was hindered by the inundation that desolated the place on September 9 1811 After spending about three weeks in Eger (August 25 to September 13) he returned to Jena where he stayed from September 15 until the close of October On receiving word from Zelter that, accompanied by his daughter Doris and by his pupil the wonderful pianist and composer of eleven, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy he was about to visit Goethe, the latter hastened to Weimar The history of the vividly spent delightful days that followed is open to us in the accounts of it written by the wonderful boy¹ Goethe felt extraordinary elevation of spirit and was ready for the gayest merriment The baths had done him so much good that the winter passed without illness yet at length a severe cold set in and lasted a long time

Already as Cotta's exclusive right in the second edition of Goethe's *Works* would soon cease Goethe was meditating a new edition the last which he could hope to see He set the Library secretary Krauter, to work, arranging his papers and letters And he looked round him for young men who would aid in the preparation of the new edition In the previous year he had endeavoured to gain for himself the young Karl Ernst Schubarth who by his essay, *Zur Beurtheilung Goethes* had proved his earnest goodwill But Schubarth desired a State appointment As to the study of Mineralogy Goethe found an able ally in the Petersburger Soret, who now in his

¹ English readers will find Felix's letters translated in Hensel's book *The Mendelssohn Family* Those who read German had better get the little book *Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* Leipzig 1871—Tr

² First published in 1817 and republished in 1820 Schubarth was with Goethe in Jena in September 1820 See Goethe to Schultz October 1 1820—Tr

seven and twentieth year, was summoned to be the tutor of the Hereditary Prince Soret, when four years old, had gone to live in Geneva.

The June of 1822 saw Goethe again in Marienbad. There and over the country, as far as the Fichtelgebirge, there was now a great deal of stone hammering. Goethe was glad to meet in Marienbad the well-known mineralogist Count Caspar von Sternberg. And the heart of the poet was here kindled once again. Ulrike von Levetow, a wondrously charming maiden of fifteen, who with her mother (Goethe's Pandora¹) and two sisters visited the ecclesiastical watering-place, by her look, her voice, and her angelic personality, laid a strange spell on the poet, now seventy-two, a spell of which he only became aware when the time to part arrived.² On his return he wrote outside Eger the poem *Molhausen*, which expresses the yearning emotion of separated lovers. For a time the cheery, affectionate letters of Marianne von Willemer drew no response, and Alwine Frommann in Jena thought she could observe melancholy moments.³

Yet he soon resumed the mastery of himself, and took a gracious part in the social life of his home. As he had ceased to go to the Court, the Court came to him, the Grand-Duke Karl August one morning every week, on Tuesday mornings the Grand-Duchess Luise, on Thursday mornings the Crown-Princess, and Goethe had always something important in

¹ See p. 240 of this volume.—TR

² Goethe arrived in Eger from Marienbad on July 24, 1822. He made many excursions, and saw a great deal of Gruner. Sternberg, too, came to Eger. Goethe left Eger for home on August 27, 1822. See *Goethe und Gruner*, pp. 76, 119, 120 (on p. 120 read "27" for "24"), and Goethe to Sternberg, Eger, August 26, 1822.—TR

³ So Marianne learned from Alwine Frommann's brother, who was in the shop of a Frankfurt bookseller Duntzer, *Goethes Westostlicher Divan*, p. 128.—TR

literature or science to lay before each. On Tuesday evenings there was generally a large assembly to tea at his house many of the young Englishmen Scotchmen and Irishmen who were about in Weimar had access. Goethe himself always appeared, at least for a short time, at this tea. On December 14 1818 , after a long interval, he had a musical evening at his house again. The severity of the winter now came hard upon him. Besides, the love of Ulrike von Levezow may have disquieted him.

On February 17, 1819 Goethe was suddenly attacked by inflammation of the pericardium, and probably of part of the heart for a few days the worst was feared not until February 26 was the danger over¹. His recovery of strength was slow. He had been a long time without consciousness, the use of arnica at the crisis had cured him. He was immensely gladdened when (March 2) in celebration of his recovery his *Tasso* was acted with a prologue having reference to the occasion. Immediately after the successful performance, an account of it was brought to him².

After his recovery Goethe sent his reply to the letter of Countess Auguste von Bernstorff once Auguste von Stolberg the dear friend of his youth whom he had never seen. She had written to him in October 1817 exhorting him to be converted. She conjured him to depart from all in the world that is petty vain earthly and not good to turn his gaze and his heart to eternal things and to make good ere too late the harm that his writings had done to the souls of others. Goethe's reply is serious and dignified 'To live long is to outlive much beloved hated indifferent men, kingdoms capitals cities nay forests and trees that when young we sowed and

¹ See August Goethe's letters to Schlosser and to Zelter February -6 1823 *Goethe Briefe aus Schlossers Nachlass* p 113 *Goethe und Zelter* 1 -9 —TR.

² Cp. *Sorft* (in *Eckermann*) Tuesday February 24 1823 —TR.

³ *Ib d* Saturday March 2 1823 —TR.

planted All this fleeting show we accept unconcerned , we are not troubled by the evanescence of Time if the Eternal is every moment present All my life I have meant honestly towards myself and others, and in all my earthly action have looked to the highest You and yours have done the same We will then continue to labour while it is day , a sun will shine for others also , they will play their part, and meanwhile for us there will be a clearer light And so let us remain untroubled about the future In the kingdoms of our Father are many provinces, and since here on earth He has given us such a peaceful abiding, there will be provision for us both yonder also , perhaps then we shall have the happiness hitherto withheld, and know one another face to face, and so love one another more thoroughly than before In calm trust be mindful of me ” So far Goethe had written immediately after the receipt of Auguste’s letter, but he had not sent what he had written, because, by a like utterance of himself, he had once against his will wounded her brother But after his recovery from the dreadful illness of that spring “The page shall go to you to bring you direct evidence that the Almighty still permits me to behold the fair light of His sun , may the day to you as to me shine with friendly brightness, and may you think of me with goodness and love, as I cease not to recall those times when that still worked in union which afterwards was sundered ! May all be united again in the arms of the all-loving Father ! ”¹

In the early summer of 1821 the student Johann Peter Eckermann, then twenty-nine, had sent from Gottingen a copy of his poems, with a short account of the strange events of his life , and Goethe had replied with a few friendly lines Moreover, Eckermann heard that he had spoken favourably of his confidant And now, in May 1823, Goethe received the

¹ Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff, April 17, 1823 —TR

manuscript of Eckermann's *Beiträge zur Poesie* with a request that he would recommend it to Cotta. As Goethe delayed to reply, Eckermann longing for a decision set out on foot for Weimar. On June 9 1823 Goethe received Eckermann's request for an interview, and named noon on the following day. He proved very friendly. On the second day of their intercourse he said that he would be glad if Eckermann would remain in Jena all the summer until his return from his approaching visit to Marienbad. Eckermann would not only find this a good step for his own purposes but could further those of Goethe. Eckermann was commissioned first to hunt out Goethe's articles in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* and then to make an index to *Kunst und Alterthum* carefully noting such subjects as might be considered not to have received their full treatment.

Before Goethe left Weimar¹ for Marienbad in the number of *Kunst und Alterthum* that his illness had delayed he spoke publicly his heartfelt thanks for all the kindness that he had received both at home and from abroad since his illness. To such strong proofs of sympathy he would endeavour to respond after the fashion in which he had won them namely by an earnest faithful honest objective activity which would benefit his Fatherland as well as foreign countries. Since the Almighty has permitted me to emerge again from this hard fight with adequate intellectual and spiritual powers it is my duty to think continually on the careful use of them.

He arrived in Marienbad in the early days of July 18 3 Karl August had arrived shortly before. Goethe felt remarkably well he obtained delightful lodgings and as the other

¹ He left Weimar on Thursday June 26 1823 He arrived in Eger on the evening of Sunday June 29 and reached Marienbad on Wednesday July 2 Goethe to Schultz July 8 1823 See also Gruner's book on p 130 of which read Sonntag for Montag —TR

occupants of the house were all ladies,¹ he had quietness. Among these ladies were the Levezows. Ulrike's charm bewitched him anew, with her, his beloved "Stella," he spent the happiest days. When he heard her voice in the *Brunnenallee* he would seize his hat and hasten to her,² he missed no opportunity of being with her. Not until the beginning of August 1823 did his love reach the height of passion, all was so open and remarkable that the visitors to the baths talked of marriage. Ulrike's mother broke everything off by leaving Marienbad suddenly. When they were parting Ulrike, after a first kiss of farewell, could not help pressing one more on the poet's lips.

In the extraordinary excitability of that time Goethe was very receptive for music. The singing of the celebrated *prima donna*, Madame Milder of Berlin, moved him to tears. So, too, did the wonderful playing of the lovely Polish lady, Madame Szymanowska, the first pianist to the Empress of Russia. In these tears Goethe found himself again, found the power to bear with courage the great sorrow of renunciation, and to lift himself anew after it. In the poem *Aussohnung*³ he acknowledges the beneficial power of Madame Szymanowska's music. Now he was able not only to roguishly joke at Mlle Wolowska, her sister, who was melancholy and had thoughts of death, but to address two stanzas⁴ to the good friends in Weimar, who were about to celebrate at the same time his birthday and his wonderful recovery, these stanzas were recited by his son at the banquet. On August 20, 1823, conducted by Gruner, who had come to fetch him, Goethe drove to Eger,

¹ Goethe to Knebel, July 11, 1823.—TR

² Eckermann, Monday, October 27, 1823.—TR

³ See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems. See also Eckermann, December 1, 1831.—TR

⁴ The lines beginning—

"In Hygiea's Form beliebt's Arminen,
Im Waldgebirg sich Schlosser aufzubauen"—TR

where he wished to examine the surrounding mountains After a few days of excursion with Gruner he set out for Karlsbad On August 25 1823 on the way to Karlsbad he composed bit by bit in the carriage writing down at each stage what he had composed the noble *Elegie*¹ that glorifies the difficult resolve to give up Ulrike He spent his seventy fourth birthday alone in Elbogen refusing an invitation to keep it at Castle Hartenberg with Count Auersperg On September 7 1823 he returned to Eger and remained there until September 11 chiefly occupied with mineralogy He rested a few days in Jena before he ventured to return to Weimar whither the report that he was betrothed had come He now invited Eckermann to remain through the winter in Weimar promising to procure lodgings not far away from himself At midday on Wednesday September 17 1823 he reached his home apparently cheery and glad but those who looked deeper could see how hard he found it to resume the old accustomed Weimar life His bitter disgust with circumstance was uttered freely to Chancellor von Muller²

On September 28 the arrival of *Staatsrath* Schultz gladdened Goethe He had confessed to Schultz in a letter that in Marienbad he had loved much³ Two days after Schultz came Count Reinhard to pay his long promised visit On October 2 1823 Goethe called Muller aside and began to talk anew of a plan of evening assemblies during the winter

¹ See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems See also Eckerman : Sunday November 16 1823 Goethe's companion on the drive was J John his secretary See Gruner's book page 169 — TR

All through the summer Goethe's servant Stadelmann had been diligently gathering mineralogical specimens for him at Marienbad and elsewhere — TR

² See Goethe's *Unterhaltungen mit Muller* Tuesday September 23 1823 — TR

⁴ Goethe to *Staatsrath* Schultz Eger September 8 1823 — TR

Goethe would first invite a number of people once for all, and they should come after that on any evening they pleased. One of the most important of the Weimar ladies must be a kind of patroness, and none would be more suitable than Frau von Fritsch. Goethe's object in this assembly was to provide some charm against the *ennui* that Weimar life had for him after the excitement of Marienbad. He confided to Muller then his relations with the Levezows. "It is an affection that will still give me plenty to do, but I will get over it. Iffland could make a charming piece of it—an old uncle who loves his young niece too ardently." In the days that followed Goethe often appeared melancholy and reserved, then again, however, he would be cheerful and communicative. On October 14, 1823, there was a large company to tea at his house, among others Savigny with his wife and daughter. Goethe was very friendly and bright, his daughter-in-law often clung to him and kissed him. Ten days later, October 24, 1823, he gave an evening party in honour of Madame Szymanowska. Her inspired playing charmed all hearers. On October 27, there was another party at Goethe's. Before the party in the quiet of his own room Goethe showed to Eckermann the manuscript of the *Elegie*. It was written in large Latin characters on fine vellum paper, and was fastened into a red morocco case with a silken cord. Madame Szymanowska played on two other evenings at Goethe's house. On November 5, 1823, she dined there for the last time. Goethe endeavoured to be cheery and amusing, and through it all the deep pain that the parting gave him was evident. At five o'clock the carriage came to take her to her farewell audience with the Crown-Princess. It was doubtful whether she would come again. "Then the human in Goethe was plainly revealed," he begged Muller¹ to bring about her return to bid

¹ Who tells all this story in the *Unterhaltungen*—Tr.

farewell once more. Some hours later Muller and August led her and her sister to him. The beautiful artist thanked Goethe earnestly for his goodness and he replied with a jest wishing to carry off matters lightly but tears burst forth. Unable to speak he pressed her and her sister in his arms and his gaze followed them for a long time as they disappeared down the series of open rooms. To this exquisite woman he did, indeed owe his restoration to himself but she had now involuntarily roused in him anew the feeling of painful renunciation.

In the night preceding the 6th of November 1813 Goethe was attacked by a cough and inflammation of the chest. This did not however prevent him from receiving his friends. On November 12 1813 Wilhelm von Humboldt came for a visit of several days. But the illness grew worse. On November 16 he had to begin sitting through the nights in his arm chair and this wearied him very much then came pains in the kidneys and the coughing grew convulsive. Zelter who arrived on November 24 found him in a very critical state. Goethe found some comfort in reading to Zelter the *Fliegende Blätter* that was so dear to his heart. Zelter's presence was a manifest benefit. Cough and cold yielded sleep returned only a pain in the right side remained. Though he gradually became quite well there was an extreme abatement of vigour the youthful freshness which only a short time since had filled him with life did not return. Goethe had grown really old at last and after this illness felt unfit to attempt any journey of considerable length.

Goethe's Official Labours, 1816-1823 — Goethe's most important activity in the public service was destined to a dreary termination soon after the point at which this chapter begins. Annoyed it being unable to frustrate the choice of Kotzebue's *Schut geist* as the piece for the birthday of the

Grand-Duchess Luise, (January 1817), Goethe did not interfere to prevent the performance of the piece in its whole length, and accordingly great disgust was roused Goethe seized the occasion to declare his resignation of the managership, but Karl August persuaded him to take the reins once more, assuring him that he should have uncontrolled power in matters of æsthetics, and placing his son at his side in the Intendance of the Theatre Goethe, earnestly intent on bringing the players, who had been growing careless, into good discipline by careful practice, brought the *Mahomet* of Voltaire on the stage again, and he took the trouble to make an abbreviated adaptation of the wretched *Schutzgeist*, and to have it very carefully rehearsed When the play was given on March 8, 1817, "in the old Weimar fashion, with precision as well of entrance, exit, action, and grouping as of recitation and declamation,"¹ the greatest applause was gained After this triumph he handed to the Grand-Duke a new scheme of the constitution of the Theatre The Duke, having accepted this graciously, Goethe went, on March 20, 1817, to Jena, in order to work out in detail a number of regulations about the *Regisseur*, the *Capellmeister*, the *Repetitor*, the *Correpetitor*, and about other matters Then he returned to Weimar But Caroline Heygendorf-Jagemann was not pleased with the rigid rule to which Goethe, moved by zeal for art, would fain subject the Theatre, and she used an occasion that offered for getting rid of the poet Goethe refused to allow the actor Karsten to exhibit his dressed-up poodle performing the chief part in the *Dog of Aubigny* as adapted by Karsten Caroline Jagemann succeeded in persuading Karl August, who was passionately fond of dogs, to insist on carrying through the order for the performance As Goethe was unable to prevent it, he went to Jena, April 13, 1817 The Grand-

¹ Goethe to Zelter, March 9, 1817 —TR

Duke wrote to him immediately "Dear friend various utterances of yours which I have heard or read have informed me that you would be glad to be freed from the vexations of the managership of the Theatre that you would however willingly aid with advice or action if (as will probably often occur) you were asked by the Intendance. I willingly meet your wishes in the matter thanking you for the great service that you have done in these very entangled and wearying affairs begging you to retain interest in it on the art side and hoping that the lessening of annoyance may increase your good health and lengthen your years I enclose an official letter that has reference to this change, and wish you well to live¹" Goethe replied with like formality accepting the dismissal but begged *unterthanigst* that his son might be relieved from the labours of the Intendance that he might be able to give all his time to the building work assigned him

Goethe could now devote his entire energy in official matters to the Superintendence of the institutions of science and art At Michaelmas 1817 he delivered a comprehensive report on the condition of the Museums at Jena Another labour was soon afterwards provided for him The melancholy condition of the University Library had attracted attention at Gotha Thence came a wish that the Weimar Superintendence would take up the management of the Library, which had been hitherto in the hands of the Senate And so Goethe was most unpleasantly surprised by receiving a Rescript dated October 7 1817, which indicated that he was to devote himself to the matter and to sketch a plan immediately for rearranging the Library in the best manner After having carried out the needful preparatory measures through Voigt who was associated with him he betook himself to Jena on November 7 1817 It is impossible that we should enter on

¹ This letter is dated April 13 1817 —TR

an account of Goethe's conduct of the toilsome and complicated task It was at length for the greater part completed on November 18, 1824 And a wider scope than that of this book would be needed to describe the labours of Goethe among the many institutions that branched out of the Museums, or his activity with regard to the Meteorological Observations, that the Grand-Duke set on foot in 1821 in connection with the Observatory At a late time he used often to speak with pleasure of the energy with which he had in these labours opposed the selfishness, the intrigues and pretensions of individuals¹ Even by September 1823 he was able to boast that his Institutions at Jena were noble and in the finest order, because he had treated everything absolutely objectively, and had not appointed a single man uselessly² At the same time Goethe was the best advocate, and the true friend of those subordinates who served him faithfully

Goethe's Literary Activity, 1816 - 1823 — After Goethe's return from the Rhine and Main in October 1815, the *Divan* had received many additions, had been arranged and revised, its printing was completed by the end of September 1818, but the needful elucidations and illustrations were not to be done hastily, and not until the August of 1819 was the whole work, notes and all, in print Besides the *Divan*, these years produced a rich harvest of lyrical poetry, tender, or passionate, or gay, or reflective There were noble ballads, too, and Goethe's aphoristic vein of poetry flows during these years with no less freedom than formerly, in deep meditations on God and the World, on the destiny and fate of man, or in lighter verses expressing the mood of the moment, sometimes

¹ The reader will find it interesting to refer to Eckermann, March 15, 1830 — TR

² Goethe's *Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler von Müller*, Thursday, September 18, 1823 — TR

sociable and kindly sometimes gravely deliberative sometimes playful, sometimes repellent and combative With such rare favour did the Muse of Poetry delight to honour him even in his high old age

The work in prose of this period is also very important. The first volume of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* was formed by uniting various tales the larger number of which had already appeared. By May 1821 this volume was printed. But now there was a delay for Goethe was dissatisfied he felt that the parts had not been fused into a whole and it was impossible to continue the work on these lines. He resolved that in a new edition all hitherto done should be completely recast. But some years elapsed before he attempted this¹. In the last chapter we saw Goethe working on the diaries and letters of his sojourn in Italy². The first volume of *Die Italianische Reise* appeared late in 1816 the printing of the second was completed in July 1817 as Goethe tells Boisserée on the 9th. These two parts brought the journey as far as the return to Rome after the excursion to Naples and Sicily. They are called on their title page the First and Second Parts of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. The *Campaign in France* appeared in 1817 and was called oddly enough the Fifth Part of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. We have seen how Goethe had paused at the close of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* because he felt it impossible to give an account of his love for Lili while she still lived³. During the years treated in this chapter he made a couple of attempts to resume his narrative but he found himself unable to progress satisfactorily with it⁴. On the other hand he began

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe* January 15 1827 --TR

³ See p. 305. Lili died in 1817.—TR

* See *Tage und Jahres Hefte* 1821 Goethe to Schultz June 12 1822 and Eckermann's *Conversations* August 10 1844. The Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was not completed until 1831 — TR.

that annalistic summary of his life known as the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, or *Annalen*.¹ The numbers entitled *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*, that began to appear in 1816,² soon took a wider scope than at first intended or than its name indicated. The very second number contained a long-planned polemic against the "New-German, Religious-Patriotic" conception of art. The article purported to proceed from W K F, viz. Weimarer Kunst-Freunde (Weimar Lovers of Art), a signature that had been in use in earlier times in the *Propylaea*. It was written by Heinrich Meyer, but Goethe's own distinct view of the matter was propounded with an explicitness that pained even Boisserée. The limitation implied by the latter part of the title, "*in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*" having been over-passed, these words were dropped when in 1818 the first number of a second volume was published. The work was now simply *Kunst und Alterthum*. Henceforth it was an organ through which Goethe freely communicated his thoughts, not only on plastic art and on antiquities, but on poetry, he even published in it some of his smaller poems.

Goethe and Natural Science, 1816-1823 — He provided himself with a similar organ for the results of his study

¹ He began it in 1820. In the preface to the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* in Hempe's *Goethe*, xxvii, will be found an attempt at an account of their growth, by W Fih von Biedermann. The following is his table of approximate results —

In 1820	Goethe wrote the account of	1797	and	1798
„ 1822	„	„		1799, 1800, 1806 9
„ 1823	„	„		1810, 1819-1822
„ 1823 and 1824		„		1811-1818
„ 1825, January to May,	„			1749-56
„ June 1825, he completed the year				1802

The other years quite uncertain — TR

² See p. 330 — TR

of Natural Science. In 1817 the first number of the first volume appeared it was entitled *On Natural Science in general especially Morphology Experience Speculation Deduction deriving unity from their connection with a life's events*¹. There were again two subordinate titles according to which the work fell into two divisions *Zur Morphologie* and *Zur Naturwissenschaftschaft überhaupt*. The second and third numbers were not published until 1820 and in 1824 the work came to an end with the completion of the second volume. It was in its numbers that Goethe first printed his old researches on the intermaxillary bone and in comparative anatomy². It was moreover in them that he first made public his conviction now thirty years old, that the skull is a modification of a vertebral bone³. Sixteen years later than Goethe Oken had hit on the same conception and in 1807 had made it public though the method of his exposition was odd and faulty. Two years later Lamarck expounded it in his *Philosophie Zoologique*. Goethe remained silent although urged by his friends to assert his priority in the discovery⁵. The great importance of his osteological researches is now universally acknowledged. In

¹ *Zur Naturwissenschaftschaft überhaupt besonders ur Morphologie Erfahrung Betrachtung Folgerung durch Lebensereignisse erbundn* Goethe's own commentary on the last phrase of this title will be found as Kalischer points out (Hempel's *Goethe* xxxiii x xi) in his letter to Pochlitz June 1 1817 —TR

² See vol 1 pp 426 8 —TR

³ See pp 134 5 of this volume —TR

⁴ See p 87 of this volume —TR

⁵ He did not announce until 1820 that he had held the theory many years. See Hempel's *Goethe* xxxii 253 (foot). In 1823 he first related the circumstances of the discovery *bid* xxvii. 353 (foot). The subject has been well threshed. See Lewess's *Life of Goethe* Duntzer's *Aus Goethes Freundeckreise* the article on Oken and Kalischer's Introduction to the volumes of Hempel's *Goethe* that contain Goethe's scientific writings. Hempel's *Goethe* xxxiii pp cxlii cxlii —TR

Geology, too, Goethe's Neptunic theory is gradually gaining ground, for he did not hold the crass belief that the moulding of the earth's surface is solely due to the action of the waves of the sea, he believed in the subsequent and partial operation of volcanic forces

It was not without passion that Goethe defended his dear Theory of Colour in the pages of his new scientific journal. We find him explaining with great delight and sympathy his view of Malus's discovery, the polarisation of light, this, indeed, had occupied him so early as 1812¹. Goethe's conclusion was that the colours which Malus called ent-optic were dependent on the sun's position in the sky. As in the *Farbenlehre* the beauty of the description of the phenomena of colour and of the series of connected experiments is acknowledged, while Goethe's explanation is rejected by science.

To the studies of Natural Science, in which we have so long seen Goethe busied, must be added in these years that of Meteorology. So early as 1816 he had been greatly interested by Luke Howard's attempt to apply a terminology to the distinction of different kinds of cloud—Cirrus, Cumulus, Stratus, Nimbus. Goethe soon found that each cloud-form is peculiar to its own atmospheric height. He finally adopted the view that all meteorological phenomena are to be explained by assuming the earth to vary in its power of attraction, when the power is great the density of the air is great and the barometer sinks, when the attraction is slight the barometer rises accordingly. He endeavoured to make real to himself this supposed variation in the earth's attractive power by the image of In-Breathing and Out-Breathing, and he called the two opposite states of the earth its Water-Negation and

¹ Goethe tells us in the *Geschichte der entoptischen Farben*, that in August 1812 he began experimenting on the phenomena observed by Malus.—TR

Water Affirmation¹ In all this Goethe departed from the mode of procedure which he had hitherto observed, viz in every inquiry to choose from the whole subject the point as to which there is the greatest certainty, and to assume firm footing on that and he committed all that facts seemed to render doubtful to time to chance, and to the activity of other inquiring spirits He did not of course deny that there must be many other co operating meteorological influences beside his hypothetic variations of earth attraction Modern science recognises no such attraction but does hold the revolution of the earth on its axis to be a factor Goethe fortified himself by a series of observations pursued for years with zealous care fulness

In all these studies of Natural Science which fill such a large part of the closing decades of his life he derived valuable aid from certain external agencies or influences—from the institutions that the Superintendence controlled from a wide and fruitful intercourse with men of science and in a very remarkable degree from the pleasant journeys of the summers and autumns Any one who follows him through these years in his own letters and papers and the ample records of his life and conversation left by other men will find one feeling grow continually—simple marvel that any being should be such a fountain of vigour The Universal Nature that surrounded him no less than the varied thoughts and deeds and emotions of his fellows was full of meaning to this man and as his keen glance penetrated and analysed the strange complex infinite which we call the Human so too he was intent on passing beyond mere contemplation of the infinite of phenomena which are not human to the comprehension of that infinite in so far as his peculiar gifts enabled him

¹ This theory is first stated in the first part of the *Italian sche Reis* (September [9] 1786) which Goethe published in 1816 —TR

BOOK \

THE RUSTLISS CLOSI

1824—1832

CHAPTER I

GOETHE'S OLD AGE—AN ALMOST UNINTERRUPTED RESIDENCE IN
WEIMAR DURING WHICH HE PREPARES A FINAL EDITION OF
HIS WORKS—DEATHS OF CHARLOTTE VON STEIN OF KARL
AUGUST OF LUISE AND OF GOETHE'S SON—A PERIOD OF
UNCEASING ACTIVITY—WIDE CORRESPONDENCE AND GREAT
INFLUENCE

1824-1830

GOETHE considered the last years allotted to him by fate as his testamentary years. In them he would secure the publication of an edition of his works as complete as possible and would secure moreover an income for his heirs from the proceeds of this edition. It was accordingly needful to finish the *Annalen* (or *Tag und Jahres Hefte*) to rewrite in some measure what had been done of the second part of *Faust* to reshape and complete *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. His health was precarious and the winters trying but he had the power of quietly waiting on his good times¹. During the earlier years of this closing period we find him looking forward to visiting his dear Marienbad but when the time for starting comes he always feels unfit for it his strength only sufficing for daily drives at first and short excursions later on. The

¹ It will be found interesting to turn to his conversation with Eckermann March 11 1828—TR

want of exercise was injurious to a man of apoplectic temperament So much the more important to him was the lively personal intercourse with the friends who continually visited him, and the guests so seldom wanting at his dinner-table At dinner he always exhibited a careful hospitality, carving at a side-table with, one might say, sovereign dignity, pressing food and drink with friendly urgency on his guests, concerned about their favourite dishes and their general enjoyment At his evening receptions, where he generally abstained from food, he showed himself in the most various moods, sometimes roguishly merry or ironical, or purposely contradictory and paradoxical, sometimes passionately moved, or kindly and affectionate, or gentle and sympathetic, and sometimes inclined to frank self-utterance, and the instruction of those to whom he spoke, while there were also times of silence and reserve, when something important occupied his thoughts, or he was low-spirited, and languid, and incommunicative from bodily illness That which enabled him to endure was his consciousness that he had faithfully performed his duty as a man, as a citizen, and as a servant of the State , and that he had employed his powers for the highest purposes in literature and in science The world at that time possessed no loftier spirit, no nobler intelligence, than the universal German poet, whose influence swayed the best minds of England, France, Italy, Poland, Russia, America, whose abode was a place of pilgrimage for critics, artists, poets, philosophers Weimar was then, and has been since, the Kaaba of all Germany, though Menzel and Borne disowned and denied Goethe, though Heine mocked at him, in spite of the counterfeit-manufacture of the foolish parson Pustkuchen, in spite of the opposition, especially to the Theory of Colour, of many men of science, in spite of the artists in Munchen and Rome, who held his æsthetic theories to be wrong And Goethe himself felt that

the homage done to him was simply gratitude due because of his having employed to good purpose the talent committed by gracious Mother Nature to his keeping. By the sovereign



Faust Goethe's study from 1 part by J. J. Schmid

family of Weimar he was regarded as an honoured member of their house, German kings and princes came to him to attest their reverence in and around Weimar when he passed, no head remained covered. Only by his own fireside

that peace, which is the crown of happiness, was not The dissension between his son and his daughter-in-law, the dissolute life of August, the moral and physical ruin which was its result, and, finally, August's death far away, brought deep woe on the old man , and the deeper because the two young people for whose welfare he cared so much had fine gifts , because August, in spite of the dominance of his sensual nature, did not succumb to that fatal callosity of soul, and selfishness, and imbecility, which in the long run are the fruits of licence He still loved his father well, and was tenderly careful for him, and in affairs he showed clear intelligence and good sense, (he was made Privy Councillor of Finance and Chamberlain), and thus this prodigal never suddenly wrenched himself away from his father's heart, but kept continually wringing it to pain, that dulled and freshened again And so August's death was a sharp grief Yet Goethe bore it as he bore the deaths of Karl August and Luise, like a wise man who faces the inevitable with composure, though there were times of melancholy and bitter tears He was upheld and made strong by his sense of duty, by the unresting, though unhasting activity of his insatiable intellect, by a lofty self-esteem that was nourished on his consciousness of great results and a world's homage, and by a certain high, serene benevolence of mood that sided always with what was good and lovely, that led him to be mild in judging the faults of men, to be glad in relieving their need, and brought with it an unspeakable consolation

In the beginning of the year 1824 we find Ottile and August on bad terms Ottile had gone to join her mother in Berlin towards the close of December 1823 In Berlin she met a young Englishman, to whom she felt a great attraction, which she was not ashamed to acknowledge At the same time the condition of her sister Ulrike gave great anxiety to Goethe , she had fallen heavily on the back of her head, and the worst

was feared. Ottile's accounts of her Berlin life brought him much pleasure for she had a receptive clearness which made her a good observer and narrator of external events. As for her faults Goethe felt that he must not be hard, but must take at its worth her vivacious excitable charming personality.

During the earlier months of 184 he was occupied with the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* while Eckermann was busy reading through his papers. Goethe showed the most kindly interest in Eckermann's career and in their intercourse continually endeavoured to cultivate and elevate his conception of Art. Though during the winter he was compelled to remain quietly indoors we find him by February 9 184 taking a drive before dinner with Eckermann and on March 16 184¹ his carriage brought him to his Garden in the Park which he had not seen for a long time and though there was sadness in the old memories that the place aroused he visited it frequently afterwards. He brought Eckermann there on March and had the little house opened and showed Eckermann the tiny room upstairs where he had done so much work many years ago. On March 25 184, Karl August writes 'The day after to-morrow [Topfers] *Hermann und Dorothea* will be represented on this stage, it certainly will be a pleasure to you. So do come, you can conceal yourself either in my little box or in our large one. On April 14 184 there was a concert at Goethe's house it was a good while since there had been one before. A choir conducted by Eberwein, sang parts of Handel's *Messiah*. The ladies who were present joined the singers Ottile and her mother the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein and Fraulein von Froriep. Goethe sitting at a little distance absorbed in listening spent a very happy evening a long cherished wish was gratified. Soon after his true old

¹ Chancellor von Muller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe* —Tr.

The elder sister of the Countess Julie von Egloffstein p 337 —Tr.

friend, Friedrich August Wolf, came and stayed with him for about a week. Wolf was very poorly, and was now on his way from Berlin to the South of France. He was as fond of opposition as ever. Goethe gave a dinner in his honour on April 19, 1824, at this dinner there was a great deal of merry wit combat between the two. On another occasion Goethe made ironical allusions to Wolf's courtier-like submissiveness.¹ This was the last meeting of the friends, Wolf died at Marseilles a few months later.²

More and more definite became the plan of employing Eckermann and Riemer as *collaborateurs* in preparing the new edition of his *Works*. In April 1824 he obtained his letters to Schiller from the Schiller family. He considered these letters part of his *Remains*, and Cotta had promised to publish them. Moreover, Cotta had in general terms declared himself ready to publish the new edition.

In the summer of 1824 Ottolie went to Schlangenbad, and did not return until her father-in-law's birthday. Goethe had had thoughts of going to Marienbad, but found after all that he was unfit for travelling, and remained in Weimar. And his quiet stay-at-home life agreed with him very well. Only there were many little family misfortunes that jarred on him. Thus Ottolie was poorly, and his elder grandson, little Walther, broke his arm.³ During the long winter evenings Goethe, with Coudray's help, sketched the plan of a new theatre for Weimar.⁴ He had, moreover, talked with Coudray about the *Fürstengruft*.⁵

¹ This was on April 21. Wolf had spent nearly all the day before with Karl August, the Duchess, and the Crown-Princess, and was dreadfully wearied by it.—TR

² He died on August 8, 1824.—TR

³ Muller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, October 11, 1824.—TR

⁴ See Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, March 24, 1825.—TR

⁵ Literally "Princes' Vault"—a mausoleum for the royal family of Weimar.—TR

which Karl August built this year on the highest part of the new cemetery. For this noble prince disdained to seek a burial place for himself and his race away from Weimar.

As Goethe desired that his new edition should bring in a good deal of money, it behoved him to endeavour to prevent piracy. So he formally petitioned the Diet of the German *Bund*¹ to make unauthorised reprinting of his works a punishable offence within the States that composed the *Bund*¹. Moreover, he took a great deal of pains to gain powerful members of the Diet to his side. At the sitting of March 24 1835 the matter was brought before the Diet but there was a considerable difference of opinion. Some Governments thought that the Diet should assent to the petition while others preferred that each Government should protect Goethe within its own territory. And there was accordingly delay and Goethe was kept in suspense almost all that year. He had a great deal of trouble and spent much valuable time in rousing those who were indifferent by repeated appeals and in writing letters of thanks to the several States each letter composed to suit a special set of circumstances.²

On March 22, 1835 two days before that sitting of the Diet which was so important to Goethe the Theatre of Weimar was burned to the ground. This event pained and agitated the old poet sadly the monument of many years of cherished recollections was swept away.³ He slept little during the

¹ Goethe's petition is dated Weimar the January 1835. It is reprinted by Strehlke in his *Erzähniss von Goethes Briefen* [Berlin 1881] 1435 —TR.

² See in Strehlke's *Erzähniss von Goethes Briefen* the articles *Bei st. Latern Deutsche Junger ersammlung Metternich* —TR.

³ Cf. Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* December 5 1835 —TR.

⁴ The fire is the grave of my memories he said to Müller then added But the only means of overcoming a lassitude is a fresh activity and accordingly I will hold a session with Lieber this very day —TR.

night, but lay and watched the flames rising unceasingly to the sky. Weakened by the emotion and want of rest, he stayed in bed on the 22d. When Eckermann visited him he stretched out his hand to him "We all have suffered a loss," he said, "but what can be done? My little Wolf¹ came to my bedside early this morning. He took my hand, and, looking at me with big eyes, he said — 'Thus it is with human things!' What more can be said!" In the first dismay Goethe had been inclined to gloomy thoughts, and had considered the fire a bad omen for the jubilee of Karl August's accession, which was to be held that year. But he soon rallied, and was zealous in urging that a new Theatre should be commenced. The design which Coudray and he had made during the winter would be useful now. And when Eckermann came to dinner on Sunday, April 10, 1825, Goethe had the good news that Karl August had approved this design, though there had been a great deal of opposition. The foundation was accordingly laid without delay, and the building advanced rapidly. But on April 29 Eckermann, on going to the site, was distressed to find that the work was stopped, and to hear that another plan, whose execution would be cheaper, had been preferred to Goethe's. Without doubt Goethe's steady opponent, the all-powerful Caroline Jagemann, had a hand in this. Goethe bore the strange rebuff with gentle composure,² and showed no irritable sensitiveness, though he was still weak from an illness.

Soon after Goethe's resolve to publish a new edition had become known through the proceedings at the Diet, offers from many publishers began to come to him. On May 5, 1825, the brothers Friedrich and Heinrich Brockhaus came to

¹ His second grandson, who was his constant companion, and who used to breakfast with him — DUNIZER

² Eckermann, May 1, 1825 — TR

Weimar to negotiate Goethe referred them to his son who was to be the possessor of the profits of the edition. They would give 50,000 thalers, and in agreement for twelve years at this price was sketched. Ere deciding however August resolved to see whether a larger sum could not be obtained. But though new bidders presented themselves none offered more than the brothers Brockhaus. Goethe was in reality anxious to remain with Cotta. He had begun to think that Cotta was lukewarm in the matter¹. But Boisseree assured him to the contrary. Just at that time Cotta had to make some long journeys and these had delayed his coming to Weimar. So Goethe sent to him an exact account of the new edition and awaited an offer which should be 'the first and the last.' Cotta declared that he would give 10,000 thalers more than any other publisher though by an old agreement² he had the right of preference. Goethe was very anxious to have all uncertainty brought to an end and on August 13 1835 he enclosed to Boisseree a memorandum to be communicated to the great publisher. The more important part of it may be thus paraphrased — 'Fifty thousand thalers Sixon money have been offered and it has been added that when a final agreement to this effect is at length signed, a certain sum will be added to this fifty thousand. Thus Cotta in order to outbid all other offers as he has promised will have to pay between sixty thousand and seventy thousand thalers Sixon money. But my son and his advisers think that the price of the exclusive right for twelve years to publish this edition in forty volumes should be at least one hundred thousand thalers. We shall return to this subject a little later.'

During all this time Goethe's health was pretty good though he did not leave Weimar. At length on June 13,

¹ Goethe to Boisseree, May 7 1835 — TR.

² Goethe to Boisseree May 9 1835 — TR. ³ See pp. 756 316 — TR.

1825, we find him driving to Belvedere with Chancellor von Muller. The weather was mild and lovely, and the desire to travel awoke in Goethe, and plans of travel were formed. Two days later the friends repeated their drive, but there is no further mention of a desire to travel, the negotiations with publishers were bringing too much anxiety.¹

Among the numerous friends who greeted the old man on his seventy-sixth birthday was his oldest friend, Karl August. When Karl August asked him what new thing he had, Goethe presented his grand-nephew Alfred Nicolovius from Berlin, introducing him in royal fashion as "cousin." The Duke, who was in extremely good spirits, said to Nicolovius, "You have come by the diligence, have you not? You Prussians take only a few hours to drive through my whole Grand-Duchy." Goethe made his favourite Alfred promise to stay for the approaching jubilee of the Duke's accession, September 3, 1825.

There was a great stir in Weimar on that day. In the morning, before six o'clock, Goethe surprised the Duke in the "Roman House," while a cantata by Riemer was being sung outside. Goethe had slipped quietly between the columns wreathed with laurel and flowers, in order to be the first to greet his Prince, among whose servants he was the oldest and the longest in harness. He had a medal commemorative of the day to give to Karl August, it was his own design, engraved by Brandt from a drawing by Meyer. When he came into the Duke's presence he was unable to speak. But Karl August seized his hands and exclaimed "Together till our latest breath!"² Then he began to recall their happy youthful

¹ On June 17, 1825, Goethe writes to Marianne "I shall probably not leave this place this summer"—TR.

² *Weimar's Jubelfest* makes Goethe say this. But Herr Alfred Nicolovius told Professor Duntzer that the words belong to Karl August.—TR.

time Oh eighteen years and Ilmenau! Afterwards he said Let us however be especially grateful that even on this very day that is fulfilled which once was sung to us at Tiefurt —

Nur Lust und Licht und Freundeslieb'
Ermude nicht, wenn dies noch blieb!

To which Goethe replied 'This has given me threefold what I have given! Then Karl August embraced Goethe and drew him to the window and they both talked in a low voice for a while. All the front of Goethe's house on the *Frauenplan*¹ was beautifully adorned for the day Among other decorations there were eight pictures that had been painted at the Weimar Drawing Academy for the festal welcome of Karl August in 1814 Karl August it will be remembered had not come to Weimar as expected and he had never seen these pictures Goethe's friends who knew how they had been exhibited to public gaze on that occasion were startled when they found him making use of them again Goethe sent Alfred Nicolovius down to hear what the people were saying and he was much pleased when Nicolovius brought word that they were engaged in explaining the pictures In the evening the house was brilliantly lit up and free welcome offered to all Ottolie received the numerous visitors who streamed through the fine suite of rooms The Crown Prince of Weimar came, and several princes of other sovereign houses and all the notabilities ambassadors savants citizens Goethe stood in the middle of the room in a plain black coat wearing the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon Although he had risen so early that morning he did not retire until midnight and was accordingly rather poorly next day It may be said that he made all this sacrifice for the Duke let those who desire assurance of the disinterested amiability of Goethe read of the affec-

¹ Vol. i p. 406 vol. ii p. 107 — TR.

See p. 508 — TR

tionate warmth with which he received the good Joseph Sebastian Gruner, whom he had invited to the festival¹ The new Theatre was opened on this gala-day, before Goethe's evening reception, with the opera *Semiramis* The prologue for the occasion was written by Riemer, it was long since Goethe had done anything of the kind²

While an unceasing tumult of rejoicing went on in Weimar, Goethe received Cotta's conditions through Boisserée Cotta would give the 60,000 thalers, and if the sale went beyond a certain number Goethe should have a share in the profit These conditions were accepted by both father and son

Fresh rejoicings set Weimar in commotion soon after this The Court, it is true, had instituted no festival to celebrate the golden wedding of the Duke and Duchess on October 3 Eleven days later, however, on the anniversary of the battle of Jena, the citizens presented the Duchess with a medal commemorative of the day, nineteen years ago, when her lofty courage had saved Weimar And the jubilee of Goethe's arrival in Weimar was at hand Karl August wished to celebrate this day as the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Goethe's service, though Goethe himself had not expected this, (he thought that the festival would celebrate the fiftieth return of June since 1776, for in that month in that year he had formally entered on office) And so Court and city made great preparations to do beseeching honour to the day Goethe was wakened early in the morning by soft voices singing a chorale in the garden About nine o'clock he entered his reception-room A cantata composed by Riemer—a morning

¹ Gruner was with Goethe from September 1 to September 10, 1825
See pp 205-223 of his book —TR

² The principal source of information as to the festivities of September 3, 1825, is a little book called *Weimar's Jubelfest*, Hoffmann, Weimar, 1825 —TR.

greeting from the Ilm—was sung by a very large choir of ladies An hour later there was a general reception in Goethe's drawing rooms at which the Ministers, all the higher servants of the State the Jena professors and others were present Goethe received a gold medal commemorative of the day It bore his bust and those of Karl August and Luise and the words “Karl August und Luise Goethen This gift was accompanied by a letter in which the Duke acknowledged the unaltered fidelity affection and steadfastness with which the friend of his youth had followed him through all the changes of his life and said that to his living sympathy and continually willing service was due the fortunate issue of the weightiest enterprises And to have won him for ever I hold to be one of the noblest graces of my reign

The Burgermeister on behalf of the City Council handed in a deed which secured the citizenship of Weimar for ever to Goethe's son grandsons and all their male descendants There were deputies from the Senate of Jena University and from each of its Faculties The Faculties of Philosophy and Medicine created him Doctor and the former also granted him the right of conferring the degree on two persons he chose Eckermann and Nicolovius The Faculty of Law deplored that he had a doctor's degree from Strassburg¹ the Faculty of Theology presented him with a votive address in the form of a diploma in which it was acknowledged that Goethe ‘as creator of a new spirit in science and as a sovereign in the dominion of free and powerful thoughts had mightily advanced the true interests of the Church and of evangelical theology The one striking absence among all these greetings was that of the Senate of Goethe's native Frankfurt Nor did the news of the festival move them to grant him the freedom of their

¹ He was only a licentiate it will be remembered Strassburg took no notice of Goethe on this day —DUNTZER

city About eleven o'clock the Court visited Goethe Frau von Heygendorf was one of those who came Karl August showed deep emotion a brotherly embrace spoke more than words could have done

The Duke caused a copy of his letter to Goethe to be put up in a public place Goethe saw all the people in the street pressing in one direction, and sent Nicolovius to find out the cause , when he heard that the Duke's letter to him had been made public, he exclaimed "That is he !" with tears of joy In the great hall of the Library in the later part of the forenoon, about the time when Goethe was receiving the Court, there was a distinguished assembly to hear addresses from Muller and Riemer There was a great banquet at the *Stadthaus*, Goethe was not there, but was represented by August, who proposed the health of friend Knebel, who had brought his father to the Duke long ago The poet had invited a charming circle of ladies to dine at his own house In the evening *Iphigeneia* was played at the Theatre (A special reprint of the play had been published for the day) When Goethe appeared in the Ducal box all the audience rose reverentially in their places, which moved him to tears The prologue was by Chancellor von Muller When the curtain rose, deafening applause greeted the scene disclosed—a hall with a laurel-crowned bust of the poet By the advice of his physician Goethe went away after the termination of the third act The city was illuminated, and Goethe was especially pleased by the illumination of the streets that lay between his house and the Theatre His house was opened that evening for general hospitality as on the day of the jubilee of Karl August And next morning, in order to utter his gratitude in the most expressive way, he sent his grandchildien from house to house to greet his true fellow-citizens in his name

It was only by degrees that Goethe recovered strength

after the exertions of this day,¹ and then the numerous letters of thanks occupied much of his time. Meanwhile many further offers from booksellers had been coming in. Brunner of Frankfurt offered 80,000 thalers. Augustus wished to make capital out of this increase on Cotta's offer and his action in the matter cannot be called straightforward. His father was unable to dissuade him from some rather shabby dealing. Boisseree behaved admirably throughout though Augustus did not drive Cotta to extremity. In a letter dated June 13 1826 Boisseree communicates in plain words that Cotta has rights of property in several of Goethe's works and cannot give them up. Both sides must yield he goes on you must enlarge the period to which you wish to limit Cotta's rights and on the other hand the contract must be understood to apply to a fixed number of copies. When Goethe received this letter he acknowledged the goodness of Boisseree in transmitting Cotta's arguments but he maintained that in such arrangements the publisher has a great advantage over the author inasmuch as he is thoroughly aware of his position while the author is not. But he expressed his great wish to come to terms with Cotta, and submitted a new scheme of agreement. After this all was arranged very fast. Cotta made the following final offer. He would pay 60,000 thalers for the forty volumes containing Goethe's poetic, aesthetic, literary critical and historical works. The limit of twelve years should stand. For the volumes containing the scientific works an extra sum proportionate to their size and number would be paid. If the pocket edition ran to 10,000 copies, there should be a special payment for the octavo edition. Accordingly should Cotta sell 40,000 copies he would pay Goethe 10,000 thalers.

¹ Cp. Goethe to Zelter November 6 185 Goethe to Boisseree January 8 186 —Tr.

² Goethe to Boisseree January 1 186 —Tr.

All this was communicated to Goethe by Boisserée in a letter intended for Cotta's inspection, dated January 21, 1826. In a letter dated two days later, but enclosed with the former one, Boisserée privately advised Goethe to accept this offer, for he believed that Cotta would otherwise go back to the old offer—to outbid other publishers by 10,000 thalers. August now, at any rate, saw that he must be content, but it was with emotion that Goethe recognised Boisserée's disinterested goodwill and honest and skilful dealing. On the 30th of January 1826 he replies "Let your word be yea! yea!" and accordingly 'yea and amen!' and soon after the formal agreement was signed.

We go back here a little to observe that the death of the Emperor Alexander of Russia on December 1, 1825, had put Weimar Court in mourning, and in Goethe had roused feelings of tender personal regret¹. And his oldest and dearest woman friend was now fast approaching the close of a life in which there had been so much labour and sorrow. At the time of the jubilee festivals there had been friendly greetings exchanged between Charlotte von Stein and Goethe, and Alfred Nicolovius had gone to see Charlotte at Goethe's wish². During the year 1826 her little remaining strength failed, and, in the early days of 1827, the last spark of what had once been so fair and serene an existence went out.

In February and March 1826 Goethe was occupied with the announcement of the new edition. Yet his mood was an elevated one, the spirit for poetry came upon him anew, and

¹ Cp. Goethe to Schultz, December 18, 1825.—Tr.

² Fritz Stein came to Weimar at the time of the Duke's jubilee. He almost certainly visited Goethe. Duntzer (*Charlotte von Stein*, II 505) thinks that it may have been during this stay in Weimar that Fritz received Goethe's letters from Charlotte. Frau von Ahlefeld, who was with Charlotte so much during her latest years, is the authority for the statement that Charlotte burned all her own letters, which Goethe had given back at her request.—Tr.

he completed *Helena*. With this poem which evidences such wonderful plastic power, Goethe meant to give special value to the first Lieferung or set of volumes of the new edition¹

The spring as it advanced, proved unfavourable to him. He caught a cold in his garden, and suffered long from its results. In the beginning of May 18 6 Ottlie fell from a horse and wounded her face badly and the process of healing lasted a considerable time. Goethe would not see her until she was well for as he told Muller, such hateful impressions clung to him and spoiled his remembrance ever after. Ottlie's bright presence was sadly missed by the old man and the arrival of Boisseree on May 17 18 6 in itself a great pleasure was the greater accordingly. Boisseree stayed until June 3 1826. The presence of this well tried friend this fine and large minded critic, was very dear to Goethe. He begged Boisseree to prolong his stay. 'We shall not meet so young again you do not know how much good your visit is doing me, all grows better and better the longer you are here do wait a little while do reconsider it.' He was indeed in a very soft and melancholy mood. Boisseree thought August Goethe natural in manner and somewhat blunt (*derb*). Boisserée paid several visits to Ottlie. He went for the first time on Sunday May 1. He found her in a room where the light fell through green blinds (*rouleau*) her brow and nose and upper lip were covered with small bits of plaster. His impression of her was good³. A little earlier that day he dined with August

¹ Goethe to Boisseree August 26 1826 —TR

² Goethe to Zelter May 10 1826 Boisseree's Diary May 17 1826 (*Sulpit Boisserée* 1 471) Muller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe* May 17 18 6 —TR.

³ Frau von Goethe ist ein geistreiches lebhaftes Wesen. The following are interesting — Eckermann ein subordinirtes treues Mannchen voll hubschen Talents. Julie von Egloff tein eine kolossale malende Hofdame —See Boisserée's Diary *Sulpit Boisserée* 1 471 480 —TR.

Goethe and Ulrike von Pogwisch From their talk Boisserée could see that the old man was completely "in the net" of the young folk Goethe's chief delight was his second grandson, who was completely devoted to him,¹ while the elder, "by living and learning, had already been removed from the circle of grandfatherly affection "² The boys' tutor was one young Rothe, a divinity student

In the later part of June we find Goethe in his Garden On June 24, a lovely summer afternoon, Muller found him there with a few friends listening to the city band In July 1826 Zelter and his daughter Doris came for a fortnight's³ visit, and roused the desire for music afresh Goethe's literary labour at this time was the recasting of the *Wanderjahr*, which he had taken up after completing *Helena*, moreover, he was preparing a new number of *Kunst und Alterthum* In his later years Goethe found much delight in reading *Le Globe*, a Parisian paper remarkable for fine culture, and for vivacity and *esprit*, the notice of Stapfer's translation of his dramatic works especially pleased him⁴

In August 1826 the porcelain painter, Ludwig Sebbers

¹ It will be found interesting to refer to Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, March 29, 1830 —TR

² Goethe to Reinhard, December 26, 1825 (*Briefwechsel*, S 261) —TR

³ Zelter left Weimar on July 19, 1826 See Goethe to Muller, August 3, 1826 (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, III 236) —TR

⁴ Goethe to Reinhard, May 12, 1826, Goethe to Zelter, August 5, 1826 As to Goethe's general interest in *Le Globe*, many references might be given I select the following —Goethe to Reinhard, February 27, 1826, September 20, 1826, Goethe to Sternberg, September 19, 1826, Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, June 1, 1826, October 3, 1828 In the letter of February 27 he tells Reinhard that the paper is sent to him, unordered, every post-day, the numbers since September 1824 having lately been forwarded to him, unordered also, he is spending his evenings in studying them —TR

of Brunswick came to see Goethe, and showed him some of his work. Goethe felt so much confidence in the man, and liked him so well, as to yield to his urgent request and sit to him. The portrait painted on a cup was extraordinarily like¹. On the following page we give the silhouette taken from a plaster cast of Goethe's face. Sommering received it from Troriep, a physician who had been summoned to an appointment in Weimar in 1816 (Sommering had returned to Frankfurt in 1810 and there had been a short revival of correspondence between him and Goethe).

Goethe was at this time in a very contented, happy mood. The following passage is taken from a letter to Alfred Nicolovius dated August 11 1816 and as yet unprinted — “During the last three months I have taken consolation with my good daughter in law and found her a source of consolation. She has suffered a great deal and suffered unpleasantly. I have suffered much less since I have not been disturbed in that which is demanded of me and which I myself must demand of myself.”



FIG. 3. Sebbers portrait of Goethe
Anno 1816

¹ Goethe tells Meyer September 27 1826 that he sat to Sebbers probably twenty times for hours or half hours even after the second baking of the cup he sat for retouching — TR.

In September 1826 Ernst Schiller, August Goethe's special friend, came to Weimar to arrange family affairs¹. During his stay Ernst had to take part in a rather strange ceremony. In March 1826, when the so-called treasury vault (*Cassengewölbe*) at the *Jacobskirchhof* was being cleared out, the Burgermeister Schwabe, acting on the evidence of the gravedigger, had discovered Schiller's skull. Goethe recognised it by the beautiful horizontal setting of the teeth. It occurred to Chancellor von

Muller that the skull might find a suitable resting-place inside the pedestal in the Library, on which Dannecker's bust of Schiller stood. Goethe reluctantly consented, after he had procured a cast of the skull. The ceremony took place on September 17, 1826. Ernst Schiller formally presented his father's skull to August Goethe for the Library. Goethe was not present, but a noble meditative poem is the memorial of the day.² The ceremony roused much unfavourable criticism. Writing to Boisserée, under date November 10, 1826, Goethe says —

"The affair of the Schiller *reliquies* cannot

but be confessed to be in some measure open to attack, even by those who do not disapprove of what has been done, even by me, who, perceiving action to be necessary, had guided it and urged it on in quiet, and only retired when, contrary to my design, it was made a public matter. I add in confidence that for the present not only the skull, but all the bones of the

¹ Charlotte von Schiller had died in the summer of 1826 at Ernst's house in Bonn.—TR

² *Bei Betrachtung von Schiller's Schädel*, "Im ernsten Beinhaus war s wo ich beschaut."—TR

skeleton brought together by the deliberative industry of our comparative anatomists, are deposited in proper arrangement in the Grand Ducal Library, in a seemly shrine. But now my agency will again interpose, and I hope that when these precious remains are interred, as I mean to have them the whole fable will find a pleasing *dénouement* and the undelightful middle terms will be gladly forgotten. I am silently at one with the Schiller family, and you my dearest shall be among the first to know my solution of the matter, it would give me pleasure if you guessed what to tell the truth is very obvious. Goethe had already begun to look forward to a place of burial in the graveyard that surrounded the *Fursten gruft*. Writing on January 19 1827, he tells Boisserée how he has planned a seemly shrine near the royal vault where his remains and those of Schiller so strangely rescued shall be placed together. His friends von Muller Coudray and Burgermeister Schwabe, have undertaken to carry out this design and all had been arranged during the presence in Weimar of Ernst Schiller in September and October 1826.

During Ernst's presence Goethe began again to re-read for publication his correspondence with Ernst's father. Moreover Goethe had begged back his own letters to Zelter¹ in order to have them transcribed, and the transcripts inserted with the originals of Zelter's letters. Goethe used to read through these transcripts with Riemer in the evenings. He meant this correspondence to be published—the precious memorial of a long and beneficial friendship. Ernst Schiller left Weimar about the middle of October 1826. How deeply August Goethe felt the parting from this dear friend may be seen in the following words—

¹ Goethe to Zelter May 21 1825 Observe that Riemer preface p viii is incorrect.—Tr.

Abschied.

Bin ich den ginz allen?
 Ich habe Vater ja,
 Ich habe Frau,
 Ich habe Kinder auch,
 Doch keinen Freund!
 Er schied!!

Dein Goethe f

Die Augenblicke waren theuer,

The revision of *Helena* occupied the poet a long time, it remained when all the other contents of the first four volumes were already gone. On September 30, 1826, he writes to the philologist K W Gottling, introducing to him "a beautiful lady". This refers of course to *Helena*. Goethe tells Gottling that Riemer and he had been going over *Helena* until they were weary. For a good while Gottling had been helping Goethe in the revision of the new edition, he used to read through all the manuscript before it went to the printer. The letter in which Goethe first asks him for this aid is dated January 10, 1825.¹

The reader will remember that, after the completion of *Hermann und Dorothea* in March 1797, Goethe planned a second epic poem, very different from his first, and in April 1797 he sketched its plot.² The design had never been carried out, and the papers had lain untouched for thirty years. Now that Goethe, after the dismissal of *Helena* from his attention, turned to the *Wanderjahr*, it occurred to him

¹ See the volume edited by Kuno Fischer, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und K. Gottling in den Jahren, 1824-1831* (Munchen, 1880) K W Gottling was a professor in Jenⁿ — TR

² See pp 151, 153, of this volume — TR

to work up the plot designed for an epic into a tale for the *Wanderjahre*. Accordingly, towards the close of 18 6¹ he began to develop the graceful and touching story which we know as *Die Norelle*.

On November 22 18 6 Goethe writes to Boisseree — I must tell you that in these days joy and hope have descended to us from above since our eldest princess Marie [Karl August's grandchild] has been betrothed to Prince Karl of Prussia thus as last winter began with death and mourning this begins with life and pleasure. Moreover in December 18 6 the presence in Weimar of Alexander von Humboldt and later of his elder brother Wilhelm von Humboldt brought a good deal of delight and interest into Goethe's life²

The year 18 7 is remarkable for a splendid revival of vigour and freshness in the old man and the reawakening of the power of song. There was an abundant blossoming of lyric verse, and it is wonderful how slight and few in all this verse are the traces of the weakness of age and how frequent vitality and excellence. The joy of having successfully wrestled with the difficulties of *Helena* and the thought that the group of volumes forming the first Lieferung of his *Works* would appear at Easter, produced a kind of mental and bodily elation. But there was sorrow too. On January 6, 18 7 Charlotte von Stein died in a gentle slumber that had lasted since the previous day. In her will she had left instructions as to her burial, and knowing the soft heart of her old friend she had directed that the funeral procession should not take the

¹ See Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt October 22 1826 — Tr

² Because of the death of the Emperor Alexander already noticed
See p. 378 of this volume — Tr

³ Alexander von Humboldt came I think on December 11 1826
See Eckermann under that date. See on the peculiar value of visits from men like the Humboldts Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée December 30 1826 — Tr

ordinary route along the *Frauenplan*, past his house. The civic undertaker, however, declared that it was contrary to all propriety that the funeral of one of high birth should take the side way. And so, on the afternoon of January 9, 1827, the sad procession moved along the familiar street. Goethe did not attend it, but sent August, as on the occasion of Wieland's burial. His grief was silent, but not therefore the less real.¹ "The year has in truth begun, as earthly years will, with a mingling of gladness and sorrow, yet the gladness outweighs, and we must acknowledge it with gratitude."²

On February 1, 1827, the Grand Duke brought the Crown-Prince of Prussia to see Goethe, who was greatly pleased with him, on February 4 the Prince came again, accompanied by his brothers Wilhelm and Karl. Goethe conceived the best hopes of the successor to the Prussian throne, and spoke with admiration of his good taste in art, of his intelligence, knowledge, and vivacity. There were very gay doings in Court and city just then, that lasted until the middle of February 1827. Goethe took no part in them. At the close of January 1827 he was at last able to send *Helena* to Cotta, and about the middle of February followed the new *Zahme Neuun*, which were to conclude the fourth volume. Thus the first "Lieferung" was disposed of, and the second lay "ready to be packed up."³ And now he was most intent on finishing his *Wanderjahr*. But at the same time we find him attracted by Chinese literature, reading Chinese fiction and poetry in translations,

¹ See Duntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, the year 1827. Knebel's grief was very great.—TR

² Goethe to Boisserée, January 19, 1827. This is the letter in which he tells Boisserée about the plan that he has formed as to his own burial. See p. 383.—TR

³ Eckermann, February 1, 1827. (The English reader will correct the misprint *Russia* in Mr. Ovensford's translation)—TR

⁴ Goethe to Boisserée, February 17, 1827.—TR

and talking to Eckermann about it¹ The idea of a World Literature had grown more and more vivid in Goethe continually Meanwhile the pleasant spring weather seemed to promise an enjoyable summer³ We find Goethe driving with Eckermann and observing the tender April green of the roadside cornfields

Towards the end of April 18 7 A W von Schlegel came to Weimar, on the evening of Tuesday, April 24, 18 7 Goethe gave a large tea party in his honour The crowd was very great Schlegel's fellow traveller Lassen was also present Eckermann relates that Schlegel was dressed with extreme neatness and his appearance was so youthful and blooming that some of the guests present spoke of cosmetics He was however quite surrounded by ladies to whom he showed Indian curiosities Goethe drew Eckermann to the window

Now how do you like him? Not better than I thought I should' replied Eckermann He is indeed replied Goethe no true man, but we must bear with him a little because of his manifold learning and great merits⁴ Next day April 25 1827 Eckermann dined with Goethe and Dr Lassen Lassen showed great knowledge of Indian poetry and Goethe was very glad to have the opportunity of increasing his own very imperfect knowledge

The author of that criticism in *Le Globe* of Staffers

¹ Eckermann January 31 18 7 Servian poetry too interested Goethe just then See Duntzer *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erlautert* 1 407 —TR.

It is interesting here to look back to Herder's instruction vol 1 p 140 —TR

² Eckermann *Conversations with Goethe* April 18 18 7 —TR

⁴ Eckermann and Goethe had a very interesting conversation about Schlegel on March 28 Schlegel's injustice to Molière and Euripides in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* was the occasion of the conversation Oxenford by mistake attributes the conversation to Soret —TR

Oeuvres dramatiques de Goethe, which had given Goethe so much pleasure was J J Ampère the younger. From the ripeness and largeness of mind displayed in Ampère's study of the development of Goethe's mind and art, it had been conjectured by Goethe and Eckermann that the critic must be a man of mature years. It was, therefore, a great surprise to them when, in the later part of April 1827, Stapfer and Ampère came to Weimar, and the latter turned out to be a young man of twenty-seven¹. No less surprise was it to hear that the other contributors to *Le Globe*, whose wisdom and moderation and high culture they had admired so often, were all young like Ampère.² Stapfer and Ampère dined twice, May, 4 and May 6, 1827, at Goethe's house. The old man listened with interest to Ampère's account of Mérimée, Alfred de Vigny, and other important talents. There was also a good deal said about Béranger, whose poetry had of late interested Goethe very much. At the second of these dinner-parties, Goethe made some valuable remarks about *Tasso* and *Faust*, and related how in 1797 he had planned an epic *Wilhelm Tell*. Just after this Kail von Holtei, whose *vaudevilles* were making a great stir, came to Weimar on his way back from Paris. He announced his arrival to Goethe, and received an invitation to dinner. His open-hearted fresh personality won the poet's liking.

On Saturday, May 12, 1827, Goethe went to visit his Garden House in the Park,³ and he found the place so delight-

¹ Ampère was born in 1800. Goethe makes a similar mistake about Carlyle's age, in a letter to Boisserée, September 25, 1827. Carlyle, he says, is probably middle-aged, he has made himself acquainted with German literature after a wonderfully penetrative *inner* fashion.—TR

² Eckermann's expression of wonder gave occasion for an exposition by Goethe, of the value to literature and poetry of the *atmosphere*, the *milieu*.—TR

³ Goethe to Zelter, May 24, 1827.—TR

ful in the fine spring weather that he decided to stay and live a while in the solitude for himself and literature and escape the oppression of his domestic troubles. For Ottilie was sickly and out of tune while August abandoned himself regardlessly to sensual pleasure. On May 15, 1827 Holtei went to see Goethe at the Garden, and found him in a very communicative mood and mild, even melancholy. In the early part of this stay in the Garden Goethe began to write the Fourth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*—at that point where Faust, descending from the antique cloud, meets his evil genius again. Tell no one, but I confide to you that I mean to advance from this point and fill in the blank until I reach the conclusion which has long been ready¹ (*Faust* was finished in 1831 and was published after Goethe's death). Another product of the weeks in the Garden is the beautiful little group of lyrics called *Chinesisch Deutsche Jahres und Tageszeiten* a free adaptation of the clear pure calm manner of Chinese poetry, to the utterance of the inspiration of the sweet sights and sounds of a German spring. The long beautiful days were indeed filled with many occupations. In September Goethe when writing to Boisseree an account of his spring and summer says of this time ‘Thus May came and I was tempted to move into the Garden in the Park which was of great use to me for I pushed on with many an old piece of work began some new, and won a great deal from the pure though often interrupted quiet. One of the interruptions was a visit from his dear and honoured Princess Marie. She was soon to leave for Berlin with her husband Prince Karl. The parting was so sad to Goethe that he was unable to bid her farewell in verse. The rainy weather at the close of May 1827 did not drive Goethe from the Garden

¹ Goethe to Zelter May 24 1827 —TR

See Muller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe* August 30 1827 —TR

and he continued there until the first week in June was past. Soon after Count Sternberg came to Weimar, and Goethe returned to town¹. With Sternberg there were many conversations on natural science. "In our cabinet of fossils he was so good as to put in order a beautiful collection of plants of the primeval world, and thus for the first time their true value was given to them"². Goethe remained in Weimar after this, because, as he tells Zelter on July 17, 1827, he was so dependent on his literary-artistic surroundings. It had been comic to see what quantities of things had been dragged down to the Garden during the four weeks of his stay there. But such a love of the place had revived in him that every day he spent at least a few hours in it.

During July and August 1827 Goethe was occupied chiefly in enjoyment and criticism of the works of other men in art and literature, both those of Germany and of other countries. Perhaps his highest point of admiration and enthusiasm during the time was reached during the perusal of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*. (He had written a preface for an edition of Manzoni's *Opere poetiche*, that was printed in Jena³.) Moreover, Goethe had plenty of official work. In the Jena institutions there were many things to be cared for—appointments to be made, thanks to be returned, the administration to be superintended. These institutions had received generous aid from the Grand Duke and the Crown-Princess. About this time the ducal contributions in aid of the Library were greatly

¹ On June 9, 1827, Goethe writes to Zelter: "Now I am going back to town to be always at hand for Count Sternberg when he can get free from his obligations to society and Court." Sternberg is gone when Eckermann calls on June 20.—TR

² Goethe to Boisserée, October 12, 1827.—TR

³ The full title is given, *Goethe und Zelter*, iv 290. *Opere poetiche di Alessandro Manzoni, con prefazione di Goethe*. Jena, per Federico Frommann, 1827.—TR

diminished, Goethe thought of a plan for avoiding impoverishment. There were some private reading associations in Weimar. If the Superintendence joined these associations it could exercise a control over the choice of books. The books would come to the Library as to a subscriber first then they would circulate for a time among the members of the associations and afterwards they could be purchased at half price¹. During this time Goethe's domestic life continued to have a good deal of trouble in it. Ottlie who was suffering a great deal from her pregnancy 'found a slight in everything saw defect of love and sympathy everywhere and was in the most dreadfully nervous condition.

Goethe's birthday in the year 18 7 brought a specially great pleasure. While receiving the good wishes of a circle of friends he was surprised by the entrance of the King of Bavaria accompanied by Karl August. The king had arrived in Weimar the night before and on that morning had declared that he came expressly for Goethe's birthday. It is well known what a lover of art the king was how penetrated with a feeling for the greatness of Germany. He gave Goethe the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of Bavaria and on this and the following day had the most intimate conversation with the poet whom he astonished by sympathetic comprehension of and by a complete acquaintance with all the history of his life. A week later *Staatsrath Schukowsky* the tutor of the Czarewitch manifested his reverence for Goethe after the most touching fashion³. Again a little later the architect Zahn who had just returned from Italy

¹ Goethe to Karl August July 5 18 7 —TR.

Goethe to Boisseree in the continuation of a letter begun on August 26 18 7 Goethe to Zelter September 6 1827 See *Sulpit Boisserée* II 478 *Goethe und Zelter* II 368—TR

³ See Muller *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe* Friday September 7 1827 —TR

showed Goethe his tracings of Pompeian wall-paintings, Muller, visiting Goethe on the 11th of September 1827, found Zahn with him and the tracings spread out on the floor of the sitting-room. Goethe "revelled" in pleasure "I edify myself by them," he said, "for I call it *edification* when we come on confirmation of what we hold to be right, and vouchers for it." On the morning of September 13 we find Goethe at a *déjeuner* given by the Cross-Bow Shooting Club. August proposed his toast of thanks for him.

There was indeed about this time a great revival of vigour in Goethe, and he was in the mood for enjoying things. Thus we find him taking delightful drives with Eckermann. On September 24, 1827, they started at eight o'clock on a beautiful morning along the up hill road to Berka. A certain basket made of rushes in the bottom of the carriage attracted the good Eckermann's attention, and Goethe related how it came from Marienbad and how useful it had been in mineralogical excursions among the Bohemian mountains. But on this occasion it contained breakfast! And after descending a little valley and crossing the simple wooden bridge which spanned the dry channel of a rain torrent, the coachman was told to stop, and a napkin was spread on a road-side heap of stones, and the good things of the basket were disclosed. After this they spent an interesting day at Berka and Tonndorf. Goethe had a great deal to communicate—he talked especially of the Second Part of *Faust*, and Eckermann expresses deep regret that his diary only contains notes of what passed in the time before breakfast. Again, on September 26, 1827, they started early for the Hottelstedt Ecke, the most western height of the Ettersberg, thence to drive to the Ettersburg Castle. The details of this drive are given at considerable length by Eckermann. When they reached the western height they alighted, and breakfast was spread out on a grassy hillock.

Seated with their backs against the wind beaten oaks of that high spot they consumed a brace of roast partridges with new white bread and drank good wine from a cup of gold that Goethe always carried with him Before their eyes lay half Thuringen in the clear light of a September morning a wide beautiful view on which Goethe had looked many a time in earlier years and every point on the landscape was the centre of recollections After lingering thus some time they drove on along the northern side of the Ettersberg to the Castle of Ettersburg how bright and cheerful once now silent and lonely Goethe had the rooms opened and told Eckermann how Schiller had formerly lived for a while in one of them¹ Afterwards he led the way along a footpath through the wood to a spot where fifty years before in the time of the good Duchess Amalia they had all cut their names on a beech Around this beech in the beautiful summer evenings they had played farces and been young and joyous The spot was now damp and cheerless being overshadowed by the growth of the trees and the names on the old beech could only be read with difficulty

On the day before (September 5 1830) Goethe had had a melancholy reminder of Schiller The King of Bavaria who had visited the *Furstengrund* and the Library had been very ill content with the way in which Schiller's bones were preserved Like opinions having reached Karl August from other quarters we find him writing to Goethe I consider it advisable that they [Schiller's bones] inclusive of the head of which first a cast should be taken enclosed in the casket that they lie in now should, for the present be placed and preserved in the family vault that I have built for my race at the new graveyard here until Schiller's family shall have provided some other disposition of them Now Goethe had constantly

¹ See page 184 of this volume — Tr

borne in mind the plan of having a place of burial erected for Schiller and himself in the neighbourhood of the *Fürstengrund*. We find him writing on January 27, 1827, that Coudray is making sketches for the "Twin Monument as it is to be according to our common invention and arrangement"¹. It probably was Goethe who persuaded Karl August to have the bones of Schiller placed in a *coffin*. This was done on December 16, 1827. The coffin, prepared according to Goethe's directions, was of oak, stained dark, with rings and rosettes of tempered blue steel, on the front was simply the name in golden letters. It was laid at the foot of a step that was meant to receive the Duke's coffin in time to come.

On the morning of Sunday, October 7, 1827, Goethe and Eckermann set out for Jena, where they intended to stay until the evening of the following day. (It is curious to think that four whole years had passed since Goethe last visited Jena when returning from Marienbad in September 1823.) The friends arrived early, and went to see the Botanical Garden, where Goethe surveyed the shrubs and plants, and found all in beautiful order. After looking over the Mineralogical Cabinets and other scientific collections they drove to Knebel's, where they were expected to dinner. The meeting between the old friends (Knebel was eighty-three, Goethe seventy-eight) was very affectionate, Knebel in his haste almost stumbled to the door to fold Goethe in his arms. After dinner Goethe and Eckermann drove southwards up the pretty valley of the Saale. When they returned to the streets of Jena Goethe ordered the coachman to drive along the *Bachgasse* and made him stop at an unpretentious house. This was classic ground—it was the house that Voss had lived in, and Goethe conducted Eckermann through the house and among the garden fruit-trees, and talked of the pleasant

¹ Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, January 27, 1827.—Tr.

evenings that he had spent there with Voss and the good Ernestine¹ By this time it was six o'clock and they went to their quarters at 'The Bear'. They had a large room with an alcove containing two beds. They sat in the pleasant autumn twilight for a time without candles and Goethe talked of Voss and Schiller. Soon candles and supper appeared but Goethe's communicative companionable mood lasted and they chatted until healthy weariness made sleep delightful. Next day (Monday, October 8 1827) they rose early and went first to the Anatomical Cabinet. Then they drove to the Observatory and moreover visited the adjacent Meteorological Cabinet. After this they went down into the garden where Goethe had caused a little breakfast to be laid out upon a stone table in an arbour. You hardly know what a remarkable place we are sitting in he said to Eckermann. It was here that Schiller lived. In this arbour on these seats we have often sat at this old stone table and have exchanged many a good and great word. He was in the thirties then I in the forties both full of enthusiasms. That has all passed away and I am not what I was, but the old earth remains still and air and water and land are still the same. After Eckermann had gone upstairs and gazed on the windings of the beautiful Saale from Schiller's windows they went to the chemist Dobereiner, whom Goethe esteemed highly on account of his beautiful discoveries². It was noon by this time. They resolved not to return to dine at 'The Bear' but to enjoy the splendid day out of doors. There was a little inn at Burgau where they could get some fish and they had wine in the carriage. All turned out delightfully. The drive brought

¹ Compare page 210 of this volume —TR.

See page 163 of this volume —TR.

² And a new kind of flue invented by him and named after him had interested Goethe a good deal —DUNTZER

them past those thickets and windings of the Saale that Eckermann had seen from Schiller's windows. The landlady at Burgau apologised for having nothing ready, but they should soon have some soup and some good fish. They waited for dinner in the sunshine on the bridge. The scene was full of cheerfulness. On the other bank was the little town of Lobeda, the river was covered with pine rafts that shot beneath the bridge, guided by noisy merry raftsmen. When their fish was ready it was served to them in the open air, and they remained chatting pleasantly over their wine until the sun, drawing near the summits of the western hills, warned them of the lapse of time. The carriage was called, they returned to Jena, and, after settling their account at "The Bear" and paying a short visit to Frommann, drove quickly back to Weimar.

Soon after Zelter came for a short visit¹. Then Hegel, now a man of wide fame, came to Weimar. Goethe, with a great personal esteem for Hegel, did not want to know anything of his philosophy². But Hegel was a warm adherent to Goethe's Theory of Colour. We find Goethe venturing to the Theatre once more at this time. The attraction was a performance of Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte (Il Flauto Magico)*. He tells Zelter that it yielded him little pleasure because the performance was faulty, and because he was not as receptive

¹ Zelter left on October 18. There was a tea-party in honour of Hegel at Goethe's house. Eckermann tells us that in the midst of the cheerful talk Zelter rose and went out without saying a word. Those present knew that it pained him to take leave of Goethe, and this was his delicate expedient for avoiding the pain.—TR

² To Chancellor von Müller Goethe said, on July 16, 1827: "Of the Hegelian philosophy I do not want to know anything, although Hegel himself pleases me. I have in any case already got all the philosophy that I shall need until my end—indeed, properly speaking, I do not need philosophy at all"—TR

for such things as he had been¹ The anxiety that Ottile's suffering during her pregnancy had caused came to an end when on October 29 1857 she bore a pretty daughter whom they called Alma Sedna Henriette Cornelia

During that part of the year 1857 subsequent to his birthday Goethe had been working on the First Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. He wished to publish in his *Works* the beginning of this First Act as far as the scene *Lustgarten* (*The Pleasure Ground*). He worked steadily, and as his health remained pretty good he was able to send it to the printer on January 4 1858. We find Goethe writing bright little lyric trifles at this time. Thus he addresses to Karl August at the beginning of the New Year 1858—the last New Year for Karl August—the lines beginning "Fehlt der Gabe gleich das Neue, Sei das Alte nicht veraltet" and he inscribed three little poems in the album of his tried friend the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein. In an album which he gave to a Frau Kammerherr von Mandelsloh nee von Milkau, he wrote two short poems one a dedication. We give facsimiles at the end of this volume. A little later, Count Bruhl, the Intendant of the Royal Theatre of Berlin requested permission to use Goethe's poem *Hans Sachsen's pretsche Sendung*, as a prologue to Deinhardstein's play *Hans Sichs*. Goethe replies to Bruhl on January 17 1858. He has recited aloud the poem deliberately, as it should be recited before the public and he finds that it occupies about twelve minutes. As the poem contains the description of a painting some introduction is desirable to avoid abruptness. On January 26, Goethe forwarded the introductory poem to Bruhl.

At this time Holtei appeared in Weimar again, he delivered

¹ Goethe to Zelter November 6 1857—Tr

See Hempel's *Goethe* vi 64—1R

recitations. The kindness of friends secured him a considerable attendance at these recitations. The old poet gave him, as before, a friendly reception. And Holter won over August Goethe completely by reading aloud *Faust* in an adaptation that he had made. According to Holter's account August was so much delighted that he rushed up to him, seized both his hands, and, with tears in his eyes, cried "I will tell my father that there is a great deal in *Faust* that I never understood until to-day!" Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certain that they formed a very intimate friendship, like that of sentimental, crack-brained students¹. Moreover, Holter was on friendly footing with Ottolie, her mother, and her grandmother. But Goethe could not approve of Holter's trimming of *Faust*.

The winter weather did not prevent Goethe from going out to drive occasionally, we find him looking forward with great hope to the coming of spring. His chief occupation was finishing the *Wandervahr*. The negotiation with Cotta about the Schiller-Goethe correspondence was at length brought to a conclusion through the good offices of Boisseree.² During the spring the Garden was constantly visited, and the old man, now seventy-eight, ventured again to the opera. But the great drum, which made the whole house roar and rattle to the rafters,³ made him afraid to go there any more. His interest in the external world of Literature and Art remained vivid as ever. Beside the French and English periodicals he now received an Italian one—*L'Eco of Milan*.⁴

¹ "Burschikos" is the expressive adjective which I endeavour to translate by a phrase. The German student has been described so often that it is not needful to enlarge on him here.—TR.

² And on Sunday, April 6, 1828, Goethe despatched the manuscript to Cotta. Goethe to Boisseree, April 7, 1828.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, April 22, 1828.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1828.—TR.

As for his own work it was needful to get the *Wanderjahre* ready for the fifth "Lieferung" of the new edition. More over he felt a great wish to complete *Faust*. He did at this time succeed in writing the earlier part of the Second Act. Another of his plans was the publication of a careful French translation by Soret of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* with his torical addenda. It was Soret who called his attention to the book by De Candolle *Organographic Vegetale* which had appeared in 1827. Very remarkable is the pleasure shown by Goethe in observing how three different nationalities—French Scotch and Russians—take his *Helena* in different ways. The Scot he writes to Zelter 'seeks to penetrate into the work the Frenchman to understand it the Russian to appropriate it. In German readers perhaps all three will be found together.¹ And when his enthusiastic admirer the King of Bavaria sent his Court painter Stieler to paint his portrait, the old man felt much pleasure in the great honour. Stieler was amiable and had a cultivated mind, and Goethe liked him.

Karl August had been poorly for some time. A journey to Berlin—to greet his little great grandchild born March 188—had been delayed and delayed in consequence. But he would not give it up and towards the close of May 188 he started. When he took leave of Goethe with his usual cordiality little did the friends guess that it was their final parting. The Duke finished his visit and was on his return journey (he had reached Graditz, near Torgau) when death overtook him. He was standing at an open window when the stroke came. This was on June 14 188.

The sad news arrived in Weimar on the following day.

¹ Goethe to Zelter May 21 188—TR

² See the beginning of Goethe's letter to Zelter No 597 *Goethe und Zelter* v 53—TR

It was a Saturday Goethe sat at table with his family and some guests In the adjoining Garden Room some Tyrolese were singing August Goethe was called out. When he came back he dismissed the singers, and then proposed that they should leave table, as they would wish to go to the opera *Oberon* that evening Goethe thought the haste very odd (it was scarcely four o'clock), however, he yielded, and the guests dispersed through the rooms Very soon August succeeded in getting them all away, and he was left to break the news to his father alone. The blow was too hard "I saw Goethe late in the evening," writes Eckermann "Before I went into his room I heard him sighing and talking to himself

He refused all consolation 'I had thought to depart before him, but God disposes as He sees best, and nothing remains for us poor mortals but to endure and hold ourselves erect as long as we can and as well as we can.'" The body was brought with military and royal honours to Weimar, to the "Roman House" in the Park, which the Duke had been so fond of Here it was to remain until the funeral, which was delayed by the absence in St Petersburg of the new Grand Duke The Grand Duchess Luise was at the time in Wilhelmsthal She caused the news of the Duke's death to be formally communicated to Goethe by Soret Goethe replied immediately "Present my most emphatic respects to Madame the Grand Duchess My sentiments need no words, and my emotions can find none If I might at all venture on it I should be in Wilhelmsthal already"¹ He was unable to give any utterance in poetry to his grief On June 20 he writes to Soret "I find myself in a strange mental condition, which permits no steady, continued attention, and accordingly I work off many isolated things which really have to be done,

¹ Goethe to Soret, June 17, 1828 Uhde, *Goethes Briefe an Soret*, Stuttgart, 1877 —Tl.

and I arrange various matters which were in confusion, in order to become aware that there is still something in the world in which it is possible to be interested' But the desolation in his heart was terrible His best source of relief was the book by De Candolle to which Soret had called his attention Farther on in the letter which we have been quoting he writes of this book Open it where I will, it reminds me of my old friend, eternally forming and re forming Nature, from whom we receive our life and to whom we return it I thought his physician Dr Vogel declared in favour of his going to Wilhelmsthal, he felt unfit to see the Grand Duchess so soon and unable to bear the fatigue of appearing at Court. More over Stieler wanted to put the last touches to the portrait which had been successfully grounded before the Duke's death and Goethe held it a disposition of fate that this necessity excluded his power of choice¹ He sent his eldest grandson Walther to Wilhelmsthal to visit the Hereditary Prince, who was of about the same age Not until June 8 1838 was he able to send a letter of consolation to the mourning widow 'Even this meagre thing has cost me a great deal' he writes to Soret for I shrink from touching with words on what we cannot bear to feel Then he goes on "Meanwhile let me speak of the beneficial influence of our botanical project On waking in the morning a moment at which so great a loss always grows vivid anew I seize the work of M de Candolle

Stieler's picture became a very noble one Goethe observes that the painting of the final touches had been strangely

¹ Goethe to Soret June 21 1838 —TR

² The project of translating the *Metamorphosis of Plants* into French with which of course the study of the *Organographie Véritale* was closely linked —TR

favoured by the exaltation which passion brings¹ He could not bear to stay in Weimar any longer , he *must* fly to Nature and seek restoration in solitude , moreover he dreaded the funeral, which was to take place on July 9, 1828

With the permission of the Chief Court Marshal's Office he left Weimar on July 7, 1828 He dined at Jena with his old friend and fellow-mourner Knebel, and then went on to the Ducal residence Castle Dornburg, where, however, he did not reside in the principal Castle Four years before Karl August had purchased a property adjoining the Ducal gardens The name of the former owner of this property was Stomann And it was in the little "Stomann Castle" ("Stomann'sches Schloss") that Goethe took up his abode He lived and slept in the so-called *Bergstube*, from which he enjoyed a lovely view, three windows opening to the south and one to the west He writes the following description of the place to Zelter on July 10, 1828 "I do not know whether Dornburg is familiar to you It is a little town on the rise in the valley of the Saale, below Jena, outside it a series of castles have been built at the most various times , and pretty gardens surround pleasure-houses I am stopping in the little old castle at the southern end , it has been re-fitted lately The prospect is noble and gladdening , the flowers bloom in the well-cared gardens , the vine-arbours are hung with rich clusters , and beneath my window I see a smiling vineyard, which was planted on a very desolate slope three years ago by him who is dead On the other sides the rose-arbours are fairy-like in their lovely decking, and the mallows and what not all blooming and bright , and everything is seen by me in heightened colours, like the rainbow on a dark-gray ground

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, Weimar, July 6, 1828 We are familiar in England with Stieler's picture It is prefixed to Mr Lewes's *Life of Goethe* —TR

During fifty years I have often enjoyed life on this spot with him, and I could spend this time on no spot where the evidences of his activity present themselves to the senses with more insistent charm.

Goethe had brought with him to Dornburg his servant Friedrich and his secretary J. John. His meals were provided by the Court gardener Sckell whom he had known during the last twelve years. From Sckell¹ we learn the particulars of Goethe's simple mode of life. As a rule he rose at six o'clock and partook of coffee immediately. At seven o'clock he summoned his secretary and dictated until eight o'clock sometimes until half past eight. Then he walked on the terraces or in the garden until half past nine, then breakfasted. After breakfast he dictated again or went down into the garden if he was not prevented by early visitors. About eleven as a rule visitors came and those who came dined with him. Dinner was served usually at half past two and lasted until four. Then the visitors used to go away and Goethe went into the gardens again where he remained until half past five, when he ate some white French bread and drank some wine. After that he stayed in his room or in fine weather paced up and down the gardens repeatedly. Sckell never found him seated when in the gardens. In the evenings he read the letters that had come and signed those that he had dictated during the day. He went to bed at nine or half past nine. Sckell who could enter his room when he chose observed that he lay on his back gazing upwards his hands outside the coverlet folded on his breast as if for prayer. And in the early morning the hands were in the same position and his first gaze on awaking was upward. The deep and sweet sleep that he enjoyed was evidenced by the undisturbed state of the couch. He was

¹ Sckell *Goethe in Dornburg* Jena und Leipzig H. Costenoble 1864
48 pp.—TR

very temperate, and ate and drank by rule, and during all the time in Dornburg enjoyed perfect health¹

His visitors were numerous Every week Ottlie and her children two or three times, August not so often Others who came were Chancellor von Muller, and Frommann the publisher, and the celebrated translator Gries, and President von Ziegesar, and von Motz, and many Weimar and Jena friends besides, the Weimar folk less often, because the drive to Dornburg and back was a pretty long day's excursion Some foreigners also came, among them the two sons of the Duke of Wellington

In the early days of his residence in Dornburg Goethe received a letter which gave him great happiness The new Grand Duke and his Duchess were, as we have seen, in Russia when Karl August died From the Imperial Castle at Paułowsk, where they were staying, they commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel von Beulwitz to write on their behalf to Goethe, inquiring after his welfare and expressing their sympathy (The Grand Duke placed the Middle Castle at his disposal, but Goethe preferred to stay in the "Stomann Castle," and the Middle Castle was only used by him in so far that he saw visitors of rank in its reception-room) The remarkable letter in which he replies to Beulwitz was written on July 18, 1828 The greater part of the letter is an exposition of the charm that Dornburg has for him at the time—all the external loveli-

¹ To Eckermann he said "I enjoy good days and good nights here Often before dawn I am awake, and lie by the open window to feast on the splendour of the three planets that now stand together in the heavens, and to refresh myself with the increasing brilliance of the morning-red Then I spend almost the whole day in the open air, and hold spiritual converse with the tendrils of the vine, which speak good thoughts to me, and of which I could tell you strange things Moreover, I have begun to write poems again, which are not bad, and I would it were granted me to live on everywhere in this flame"—TR

ness of its gardens and viney ards and wide prospects is bound close with memories that illuminate grief and render hope and patience reason. But returning from the general outer world of things to his own individual and intimate being he can most sincerely acknowledge that it is a consistent deduction from the foregoing thoughts that I can in no better way prove my unchangeable fidelity to the noble departed than if after the same fashion devoted to the revered new comer in his place I expressly pledge myself to appropriate all that in me is to him his noble house and his dominions. This was Goethe's free homage to his new sovereign.

The first occasion of which we have record on which Goethe left the precincts of Castle Dornburg was a visit to Jena on July 10 188. Writing to Zelter on July 7 188, Goethe says that on the evening of the 10th when returning from Jena he was caught in such a downpour of rain as he had never seen the like of before.¹ It was a precursor of the bad weather to come. Again on August 18 188 a lovely dry day accompanied by Dr Stichling a grandson of Wieland² he drove to the little village of Grossheringen near the confluence of the Ilm and the Saale went to see the salt manufactory there, and visited the village mayor Planert with whom he had been acquainted formerly.

¹ *Goethe und Zelter* v. 9 He mentions this again in letter of August 6 188 *ibid* v. 100 —TR.

² Goethe to Soret, Sunday August 3 188 —TR.

³ To the kindness of Herr Professor Duntzer I owe the following note which will prevent confusion — The father of the Dr Stichling above mentioned had married first a daughter of Wieland and after her death in 1809 had married Luise Herder's daughter. The Dr Stichling with whom Goethe went to Grossheringen was one of the children of Wieland's daughter. See Goethe to Knebel August 18 188 (The State Councillor Stichling whom the English reader will remember in Bayard Taylor's essay *Weimar in Five* a grandson of Herder would be a child of the second marriage) —TR.

On the same day, after his return to Dornburg, he had a visit from a party of Jena friends—Frommann, and Frommann's aunt Betty Wesselhoft, Gries, and Frau von Low, and her charming daughter Luise. He was very bright and friendly, and for almost two hours talked with wonderful animation of a wide circle of men and things and situations¹. The enthusiastic delight with which the young girl hung on his words moved him. He stroked her arm with his and said “Ay, when we rub against youth we grow young again ourselves!”²

Goethe's chief intellectual preoccupation continued to be the design of translating and re-editing his *Metamorphosis of Plants*. On Sunday, August 3, he sends to Soret a plan of their proposed work, and informs him that he has read through the whole of the *Organographic Vigilale* indeed, has read through the parts which concern them several times, and has, besides, translated the section which De Candolle calls *Symmetrie Végétale*. Closely connected with this botanical study was the interest in the cultivation of the vine that we find Goethe manifesting. A new method in this branch of husbandry had been expounded by J. S. Kecht of Berlin, and Goethe, in the midst of vineyards, felt “compelled” to put Kecht's proposals to the test by practice, and to ascend from them to primary physiological truths³.

The pleasant garden-life at Dornburg began to suffer interruption. Under date August 9, 1828, Goethe tells Zelter that during the last week they have had a great deal of wild wet weather, “and to-day it is particularly bad”. This stormy

¹ See Frommann's letter to Stuve, quoted in the section called *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band II, S. 320-22. See also Goethe to Soret, August 3, 1828.—TR

² *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], S. 39.—TR

³ Goethe to Soret, August 13, 1828. But he speaks of the subject in earlier letters. On August 18, 1828, he tells Knebel that he has been three weeks concerned about it.—TR

weather continued with only trifling intermissions. On August 18 Goethe tells Knebel that he has sent his carriage home—this was a reply to Knebel's remark in a letter of August 14.

And if your horses can bear it do let them once again find the way to us. But the roads on the heights were hard to traverse, and the hill to be ascended from Jena to Dornburg was steep and accordingly Knebel must be content with a long letter and the prospect of seeing Goethe on his way back to Weimar. On Thursday August 21 1828, the Hereditary Prince of Weimar a boy of ten accompanied by Soret visited Dornburg. Beside the excursions to Grossheringen and to Jenⁿ we know through Sckell of one other instance of Goethe's leaving Dornburg during his residence there—he went to the *Thurmberg* a hill close to the roadside near the village of Camburg celebrated for the lovely prospect that it commands.

During his stay in Dornburg Goethe wrote some beautiful lyrics¹. On August 25 1828 as he watched the rising moon he thought with yearning of his beloved Marianne. Their friendship had not been weakened by time—they had remained in uninterrupted intercourse during the years that had elapsed since their final parting.

The 28th of August and the 3d of September days of such precious association to the student of Goethe's life were now at hand. The old poet had no doubt as to the rightful course on this occasion. 'I have petitioned against and for

¹ According to the extract from Goethe's *Diary* quoted by Ludwig Geiger in his article *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* II 317 the Dornburg poems are—(1) *Dem aufgehenden Vollmonde* alluded to above (2) *Fruh wenn Thal Gebürg und Garten* (3) *Der Braut gam* and (4) *Und wenn mich am Tag die Ferne*. To these may be added the translation of the inscription over the gate of the Stomann Castle (letter to Beulwitz) and the lines for the burial of his old actor P A Wolff *Mogt zur Gruft ihn senken*. See Duntzer *Goethes lyrische Gedichte* I 417 418.—Tr.

bidden any trace of festivity thatj might be designed for the 28th of August," he tells Zelter on August 26, 1828. But the Art Exhibition of the Drawing Academy ought, as usual, to be opened on Karl August's birthday, he would feel guilty of impiety if he did not use his influence to have this done¹. The 3d of September was, moreover, the occasion of a very solemn festival—the Lodge in Memory of the Duke, as a Brother Mason. Goethe could not be present in person, but he was present by his counsel and sympathy².

In the beginning of September 1828 Zelter begs for Goethe's explanation of the wild weather that had prevailed of late. Thus he was led to the study of Meteorology anew. He wrote a long letter to Zelter on the subject, giving him meteorological notes from the evening of September 6 to September 10, 1828³.

Meanwhile a wonderful restoration to health and tranquillity had taken place, and when he learned on September 8, 1828, that the Grand Duke was to return to Weimar on September 14, he made ready and left Dornburg on the morning of Thursday, September 11, 1828, breakfasted at a village on the way, and arrived in Weimar at two o'clock, in the very finest weather, looking very well, and quite brown from the sun. An admirably conceived birthday gift awaited him. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz had bought the old clock which had once stood in Goethe's paternal home in Frankfurt. The Duke had sent the clock to August Goethe, asking him to bring it into the house on the morning of August 28. It was the Duke's design that Goethe should

¹ Goethe to Meyer, August 1, 1828. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, II 342.—TR.

² Another whose memory was honoured at this Lodge was Hildebrand von Einsiedel, who was such a well-known and honoured member of the Weimar circle. Born in 1750, he died July 9, 1828.—TR.

³ *Goethe und Zelter*, v 111-114.—TR.

be first made aware of the gift by hearing its once familiar voice when he awoke on his birthday morning, after that August might hand to his father the letter which the Duke enclosed Goethes absence in Dornburg spoiled this plan he received the Duke's letter there and wrote his letter of thanks on September 3¹ 18 8

Goethe had reached his home just in time to sit down to dinner in the room next the garden. The doors stood open and admitted the pleasant autumn day and Goethe was very bright and told of the many visits and presents that he had had and jested lightly. But Eckermann could perceive an undercurrent of seriousness of embarrassment such as one feels on returning from a free holiday life to the old every day position where old duties old relations make their claim and there is a certain feeling of strangeness and difficulty it is hard to realise the force of the old motives. Moreover Goethe had not seen any grown up members of the reigning family since Karl August's death this agitation was all before him. While he was dining a message came from the now Dowager Grand Duchess to say that she was coming to him as usual, on the following Tuesday. And the new Grand Duchess visited him as before on every Thursday forenoon. Painful as the first meeting with the Princesses after so great a loss must have been the old poet knew how to brace himself and be courageous.

Another reason for that seriousness which Eckermann observed in Goethe has to be mentioned. He had promised to give the fifth *Lieserung* of the new edition to the printer at Christmas 18 8. This *Lieserung* was to contain the re modelled *Wanderjahre*. So much new matter was to be added that the book would run to three volumes. A great deal had to be done, and all the summer which Goethe had

¹ This letter of thanks is in Strehlkes *Verzeichniss* 1 434 435 —TR

meant to devote to the novel, had been spent otherwise in consequence of the death of Karl August. Only a few months now remained, and even during those months Goethe feared a good deal of disturbance from the visits of men of science returning from the meeting at Berlin. In this state of anxiety he felt vividly the merits of the power of concentration, the independence of external conditions, the intensity of Schiller.¹ After all, however, the first two volumes of the *Hardejahr* were sent off in good time, and he went to work on the third volume. Among the men of science who visited Goethe the one who most interested him was the naturalist Martinus.

Unfortunately about this time August Goethe had again fallen into a life of licentiousness, and the breach between him and Ottlie was dreadfully painful. When Ottlie was in Karlsbad in the spring of 1828 August had gone so far that Ulrike, on returning from Berlin, would not stay in the same house with him, and went to her mother. This circumstance was the origin of a violent quarrel, and the poor father suffered deeply. And yet August was careful and diligent in his management of the household economy and in his supervision of the scientific collections. He had made a beautiful collection of the fossils of the neighbourhood, they were kept in a detached pavilion in the garden.² He prepared a catalogue of these fossils, which shows what an admirable sense for order he possessed. Another activity of August's, and one which gave his father much pleasure, was the collec-

¹ See the close of Eckermann's entry for September 11, 1828. It is one of the utterances of Goethe which helps us to see very clearly what a complement to his nature Schiller's was.—Tr.

² Besides the mention of Martinus in Eckermann, see Goethe to Boissière, December 15, 1828. Goethe had an interesting visit from Tieck and his wife and daughters in October 1828.—Tr.

³ Soret speaks of this collection under September 26, 1828. Correct his note by Goethe's letter to Soret, 8th September 1829.—Tr.

tion of medals which bore relation to good and remarkable men

In the December of 1828, and during the first two months of 1829 Goethe remained within doors. For a good while he dined in his workroom alone or with one guest. This was partly because of the family dissension. He was working hard at the third volume of the *Wanderjahre* during this time. And on February 20 1829, he told Eckermann, who was dining with him that he had finished the novel and meant to send it to the printer on the following day. And then he began to work at the papers which recorded the history of his *Second Residence in Rome*¹. He had now ceased to care to continue *Kunst und Alterthum* and dropped it before the sixth volume was complete. For he had begun to think that he was influencing general public opinion very little in proportion to the labour expended. Soret's translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* had pleased Goethe very much; it was necessary to revise the manuscript carefully and during the years 1829 and 1830 and the beginning of 1831, we find him frequently engaged in this task.² On June 5 1829 Goethe bade farewell to the Princess Auguste of Saxe Weimar who was on the eve of starting for Berlin to marry her betrothed Prince Wilhelm of Prussia. The lady who is at present (1883) Empress of Germany had made a remarkable impression in her youth on the great poet of the Germans. He writes to Zelter on June 5 1829 that "she is a personality

¹ Goethe had first taken out these papers in 1810 (as he tells us in the *Tag und Jahres Hefte* for that year) but the task of working them up had seemed too difficult and they had been laid aside again. In May 1828 he tells Zelter that he is dictating at the *Märchen* of his Second Residence. Consult Duntzer's preface to the *Urbursche Kuse* — TR.

² See Muller's *Uitterhalle* or mit Goethe May 17 1829 — TR

³ See Goethe's letters to Soret during the time — FR.

of as much real significance as amiability”¹ And later in the summer, Zelter having related how he had seen and talked with the Princess, Goethe writes from the solitude of the Garden in the Park “And now to speak of the most pleasant topic last! It is a great pleasure to me that Princess Auguste has impressed you so favourably with her excellences, she unites feminine qualities with royal in such a perfect manner that we are really struck with astonishment, and a mixed emotion of reverence and affection arises within us” Goethe lived for a good while in his Garden that summer, but there was not, as in other years, a blossoming of lyric poetry, induced by the loveliness of the spot² August, whose conduct had grown more temperate, was now thinking seriously of a journey to Italy in the coming spring Ulrike had returned to live with the Goethes again

Goethe was still living in the quiet Garden when, on August 18, 1829, the celebrated Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, accompanied by a friend named Odyniec, came to Weimar, bearing letters of introduction from Madame Szymanowska addressed to Ottolie and to Goethe Ottolie received the Poles with graceful friendliness, and sent Madame Szymanowska’s letter to Goethe On August 19 the friends were received at noon by the old poet in the Garden³ They dined with him

¹ “Sie ist wirklich so bedeutend als liebenswürdig”—Tr

² Goethe was at the time very busy with the *Second Residence in Rome* See his letter to Zelter, July 18, 1829—Tr

³ In the letter of August 20, 1829, in which Goethe tells Zelter of the visit of Mickiewicz, he also speaks of the interesting visit of Cribb Robinson which had preceded it Robinson, after having spent some time with his old friend Knebel, came to Weimar on August 2, 1829, and found Goethe in the Garden He had several interesting conversations with Goethe in the days that followed, and read aloud to him from Byron and from Milton Of Milton Goethe seems to have known but little previously, for he had not read *Samson Agonistes* See (beside Robinson’s Diary and the letter to Zelter), Eckermann, *Conversations*, January 31, 1830—Tr

on that day at his house in Weimar and he was very pleasant and talkative. After a few days Odyniec began to like August Goethe who at first had seemed to him merely 'a cheerful *bon vivant*'. Odyniec now began to think him a solid, reasonable nature capable of deep feeling, though with a tendency to make everything an occasion of badinage.

This estimate of August is uttered in Odyniec's letter of the 24th of August 1829. On that day there was an evening assembly given by Ottilie at which Goethe appeared for a short time. He talked mostly of architecture and sculpture with Mickiewicz Coudray, and the great French sculptor Pierre Jean David. David had come to Weimar in order to make a model for a colossal bust of Goethe. He was accompanied by a younger Frenchman Victor Piwie a writer of verse and a wild enthusiast for Victor Hugo.

Goethe's birthday brought to Weimar the great Quetelet then Director of the Observatory of Brussels who was accompanied by his wife Holter too had returned again. The letters of Odyniec give a vivid and delightful account of those days especially of the brilliant festivities of the birthday.¹ There was a banquet at the inn *Zum Erbprinzen* at which Goethe's friends entertained the distinguished strangers in Weimar. August represented his father at this banquet. No men were asked to dine at Goethe's own house on that day feminine tyranny excluded them twelve self selected pretty women and maidens gave the old poet their company.

It was at this time that Ottilie started the little weekly

¹ Odyniec's letters are republished under the title *Zuer Polen in Weimar* (Vienna 1870). The letters are translated into German. An introduction is supplied by F Th Bratranek. Another account of the birthday of 1829 is to be found in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* 1 349-35 in the long extract from a letter of Peucer.—TR.

Das Chaos, for circulation among friends It was to be supported by the contributions of friends, and it came out every Sunday Holter was one of its supporters And during the couple of years following verses by Goethe appeared in it now and then, but without his name, for nothing in its pages was to be signed. August Goethe spent most of his evenings in Holter's companionship Holter writes "He clung closer to me continually, and granted me a confidence and an often stormy friendship which put me in fear at times Already death was rioting in his veins, his cheerfulness was wild and forced, his seriousness was gloomy and oppressive, his sadness was heartrending Yet he endeavoured to maintain a certain ceremoniousness of forms, which often looked like an unconscious imitation of his father, and accordingly, when compared with the rest of his action, had a sort of phantom effect"

In September 1829 Zelter paid Goethe a visit¹ The *Briefwechsel mit Schiller* was published at length in the latter part of this year The reverential dedication of the book to the King of Bavaria was written on October 18, 1829 Goethe had wished to express his gratitude to the King in poetry, but had found himself unable to do so

Towards the end of 1829 Goethe began to work hard at the first two acts of the Second Part of *Faust* By January 1830 we find him at the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* On February 10, 1830, he told Eckermann that the subject had proved a more diffuse one than he had expected "I am not half done, but I will keep at it, and hope to have finished

¹ This visit lasted from Monday, September 14, to Monday, September 21, 1829 Goethe went to Dornburg with Zelter and Ternite See Goethe to Muller, October 11, 1829 *Goethe Jahrbuch*, III 246 Sckell describes the visit, he is, however, incorrect in placing it in August 1829 Goethe, according to Sckell, visited Dornburg for the last time in August 1830 —TR

by Easter Eckermann observed that he was in low spirits
the Dowager Grand Duchess was very ill¹

The noble Princess, whom we have seen a good friend to Goethe for fifty years in whose esteem he had such a high place, died on Sunday, February 14 1830. Eckermann was on his way to dine with Goethe when he heard of the event. Eckermann thought with some apprehension of the effect on Goethe. When he entered the house the servants told him that Ottilie was gone to break the sad news. Goethe had received it with silent composure. Eckermann entered his room and found him taking his soup with Ottilie and her little ones. 'We went on talking cheerfully of indifferent things. When the bells began to toll Ottile and Eckermann talked louder for they feared a shock but Goethe maintained the same perfect calm which lasted on during calls from the physician Vogel who told the circumstances of the last hours of the Duchess and from Soret who had a message of condolence from the reigning Grand Duchess. When Soret entered Goethe said to him 'Well! come take your place. The blow that has been threatening has fallen at last, and we have not at any rate to struggle with cruel uncertainty any longer. We must now see how we may reconcile ourselves afresh to life. A letter from the King of Bavaria had been a great comfort to Goethe. 'I thank Heaven as for a special goodness that I have received this letter just on this day. But in the days that followed he felt sadly what a chasm in his life the loss of his Princess had made. On Monday February 15 Soret found him melancholy and thoughtful without a trace of the excitement of the previous day. 'I must work very hard in order to bear up' he said.

¹ It was on this day that Goethe talking with Muller recalled having seen the Duchess a light slender girl step into the carriage on the *Zeil* at Frankfurt in 1773. See vol 1 p 215 — TR

In order to throw his whole powers into the labour of perfecting the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* Goethe regularly put aside the *Globe* and the *Temps* at this time, and depended on his friends for his knowledge of what was occurring in the outer world. Accordingly he made rapid progress in his difficult task. But on Sunday, March 7, Eckermann going to him, found that he had been forced to lay the drama aside in order to finish the last "Lieferung" of his *Ways*. A decision of great importance for his domestic peace now ripened, he at first agreed that his son should travel to Italy with Eckermann as companion. Johanna Schopenhauer remarks indeed that the condition of August was such as to forbid either the hope or the wish that he would return. It was on March 16, 1830, that August came and told Eckermann of his father's decision, on April 22, after Eckermann had finished his work at the last "Lieferung," the travellers started.

When the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* had at length been successfully completed, Goethe turned his attention to the Natural Sciences, and, above all, to Botany. Speaking of the translation of the *Metamorphosis*, he writes to Soret that one of the benefits which he has derived from the work is that by it he has been led back again in the most delightful way to Plant Life, before which he had felt a certain timidity for many years.¹

In the second half of May 1830, to the great pleasure of Goethe, Felix Mendelssohn, on a journey to Italy, called to see him. Mendelssohn had meant to spend only two days in Weimar, but the old gentleman could not let the splendid young genius depart so soon, and Felix did not leave until June 3, 1830, after a fortnight's stay. Goethe, whose enjoyment of music was increased by satisfying the historical sense,² caused Felix to play through works of great composers in chronological

¹ Goethe to Soret, July 1, 1830 —Tr.

² Goethe to Zelter, June 3, 1830 —Tr.

order When Felix was leaving Goethe gave him a sheet of the manuscript of *Faust* with a dedication to my dear young friend the ruler strong and tender of the piano in memory of happy May days

Soon after Mendelssohn's departure Goethe visited Jena again (June 1830) The Botanic Gardens gave him especial pleasure and he examined the collections The Library assistant Dr Ernst Friedrich Weller a fine worthy character endeared to Goethe by his steady sustained activity, received him at about nine o'clock After breakfasting in the familiar corner room on the second story they drove round the ram parts and then Goethe returned to Weimar¹ Very interesting letters and diaries were meanwhile being sent home by August, they bore witness to a clear practical insight but were not wanting in instances of the tendency of the young man to energetic downright bluntness

In the March of 1830 the scientific controversy between Cuvier and Geoffroy de St Hilaire had roused the deepest interest in Goethe St Hilaire combated the Analytic method of conceiving the investigation of Nature and upheld the method which had always been Goethe's the Synthetic which in its consideration of details always cherishes the Idea of the Whole of Unity from which the particular is deducible This controversy still filled his thoughts when on August 2 1830 Soret came to tell him the news of the July Revolution in Paris Goethe had not expected that the Parisian Liberals would

¹ Goethe intended to visit Jena again soon but did not See his letter to Gottling June 30 to Weller July 16 and 7 1830 —TR

The conversation which followed is well known and has been commented upon as a proof of Goethe's indifference to great political events But Hermann Uhde contends (*Goethes Briefe an Soret* S 105) that the conversation has been made more pointed and effective by the literary art of Eckermann who was anxious that his supplementary volume should be as interesting as possible —TR

take up arms, there was not sufficient revolutionary momentum in the people, he thought¹ None the less did he condemn the insane folly of the ruler who had irritated the sleeping lion²

On July 27, 1830, Goethe, telling Boisserée of the controversy between Cuvier and St Hilaire, had spoken of an essay with which he meant to disentangle the complexity of the affair, for his own sake and the sake of his friends On August 11 he writes to Soret —“I have undertaken an essay to make the matter clear, this is hard, for both sides fight to a certain degree in darkness I will see whether I can cast light on the field” At the close of this letter he writes —“And now, finally, a hurried mention of an event which gives me much pleasure I have received from St. Petersburg specimens of pure gold and pure platinum, each seven penny weights in weight, which I wish to lay before my friend’s eyes’ This is the occurrence which gave rise to the outrageous story that Goethe intercepted and kept a bar of gold intended for the Mineralogical Cabinet

Three days before his birthday Goethe informs Soret that the needful arrangements between Frommann, who was to print the translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, and Cotta, who was to publish it, have been concluded, and the printing might soon begin

The birthday of this year was kept as a day of festival in Weimar and many other places Here may be fitly noted the great change of feeling shown by Frankfurt lately In 1829 there had been a banquet and a representation of selections from *Faust* in the theatre in Goethe’s honour Dr Stiebel, in proposing Goethe’s health at the banquet, had recited a *Trinkspruch*, whose two concluding lines were a

¹ See Muller’s *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, January 11, 1830 —TR

² Cf Soret’s notes of a conversation with Goethe on January 17, 1831 —TR

satirical reference to the treatment which Goethe's withdrawal of his property had called forth in 1817 —¹

Drum bleib uns der Frankfurter Goethe theuer
Bezahlt er auch keine Einkommensteuer

These lines were hailed with loud merriment. A birth day letter from Marianne had not failed in 1829 she wrote from Baden on August 26 and sent Coethe a crystal goblet. When the Willemers returned to Frankfurt early in September 1829 Marianne was impressed by the turn that the general feeling of Frankfurt had taken. On September 5 1829 after having mentioned the representation of *Faust* she writes —

Yet you probably know all this probably too have heard of the banquet at the *Forsthaus* at which Thomas² the single member of the Senate present might however be considered a representative he was really astonished by what occurred. And it was very plain on this occasion how deeply and pain fully the poor Frankfurters feel the loss of such a fellow citizen although the mode and manner in which they show it is not to their honour. Undoubtedly only a gentle hint on your part only the slightest indication is needed. But Goethe thought that it was now too late the matter had better be allowed to rest he replies to Marianne on October

1829 The good will of the Frankfurters had not abated in 1830 when they sent him as a birthday gift a beautiful silver cup and many bottles of good Rhine wine.

In September 1830 the Berlin *Jahrbücher für gesellschaftliche Kritik* contained Goethe's review³ of the book in which St Hilaire had opposed Cuvier. The review attracted the attention of a great many and excited much interest.

¹ See pp 336 7 of this volume — FR.

² Thomas was the second husband of Willemer's daughter Rosette whom we have known in her first widowhood as Rosette Stadel — TR

³ *Über Geoffr y's de St Hilaire Principes de philosophie zoologique* — TR

It had meanwhile become impossible to Eckermann to accompany the wild uncontrollable August any longer. From August's letters Goethe perceived what ill-assorted companions they were. In Genoa a letter from Goethe informed the travellers that Eckermann would be welcome home if he felt inclined to return. Early on the morning of Sunday, July 25, 1830, they parted in the streets of Genoa and entered two carriages, one about to drive along the coast to Leghorn, the other setting out across the mountains for Turin. Eckermann reached Geneva on August 8, and stayed there for about seven weeks. It was on September 12, 1830, that he first wrote to Goethe. The cause of separation from August, which he put forward as the chief one, was an irresistible desire to revise the notes for his *Conversations with Goethe*. He had left these notes in Weimar in charge of Soret. Goethe writes on October 12, 1830, that he does not wish the notes of his conversation to be published soon, but he will be glad to go through them and correct them with Eckermann. He did not invite Eckermann to Weimar yet, to have seen him return without August would have been too hard.

Meanwhile Goethe had continued to receive good news from his son, who, indeed, on the day of separation from Eckermann, had had his collar-bone broken through the overturning of the carriage on the road between Genoa and Spezzia, but had recovered ere long, and after having seen Carrara and Florence, had taken ship at Leghorn for Naples. He was present when, on his father's birthday, they began the excavation of a private house of Pompeii.¹ Goethe remarks to Zelter² that August seemed at home in Pompeii, his feel-

¹ This house was named the *Casa di Goethe* in honour of the day. See page 438 of this volume.—TR

² In the letter of February 23, 1831, in which he gives Zelter a short account of August's tour in Italy. The two following extracts are from the same letter.—TR

ings remarks acts in that city were gay full of the delight in living Yet there were symptoms of ill discernible Of August in Naples he says — His letters thence failed I must confess, to satisfy me they indicated a certain haste a sickly kind of exaltation And again — ‘A rapid journey to Rome had no power to soothe the nature already sorely agitated, and the honourable and affectionate reception of the Germans living in Rome and of the important artists there seems to have been enjoyed with a kind of feverish haste. With this feverish haste compare the old man’s ceaseless industry at home —¹ I scarcely leave the little back room that you know engaged day and night in using the powers that we left me ¹ On November 11 the terrible news came

August had hurried from Naples to Rome about the middle of October 1830 The great impression of the ‘Niobe of Cities’ overpowered him and, conjoined with a lively intercourse with the many German artists and intellectual men in Rome consumed in a few days the last remnants of strength in his weak feverish excited being. He returned very unwell one day from a trip to Albano an attack of scirratini followed but seemed to be well past when on October 27 a stroke of paralysis unexpectedly brought his life to a close When the body was opened it was found that the liver was three times the natural size and that the brain was malformed He was buried on the morning of October 9 1830 near the Pyramid of Cestius where many years before his father in a melancholy mood had planned a grave ² Thorwildsen out of rever

¹ Goethe to Zelter October 9 1830 —TR

See page 50 of this volume Goethe who was aware of the merits of Scott and Byron and Manzoni and of the young Hugo seems never to have found out Shelley and I eat (As to Shelley see his conversation with Muller November 18 1844) One wishes that he could have known what dust it was that lay not far from his dear son’s in the romantic and lonely cemetery of the Protestants under the pyramid which is the tomb

ence for the old poet, sketched a monument for the son, and had it erected

The news of August's death was sent to Weimar by Lotte's fourth son, the Minister Resident August Kestner. Chancellor von Muller undertook to tell Goethe. The old man, now eighty-one, bore his trial with a kind of convulsive composure.¹ He had long foreseen the loss, though not the manner of it. He could not but reckon August fortunate in the circumstance of his death, while still in the full enjoyment of Rome, where so much good friendliness had met him; he had gone to his rest speedily, without the torment of lingering illness. The strange and significant part of this trial lay in the fact that the burden of labour which Goethe had thought very soon—even in the new year—to shift to younger shoulders he must now continue to bear himself, and must even bear a heavier one. "In such a case the great conception of Duty alone has power to sustain us," he writes to Zelter, November 21, 1830. Again, as so often before, he sought restoration in earnest, eager activity, and he was passionately attracted by that part of his life which offered the most striking contrast with the present—the time of his love for Lili.²

of Cestius, and the mossy walls and towers, now mouldering and desolate, which formed the circuit of ancient Rome"—T

¹ "Nemo ante obitum beatus" is a saying that has made a figure in the history of the world, but in reality it says nothing at all. To give it some soundness it must be shaped thus. *Expect trials till the end.* You, my good friend, have not lacked trials, nor have I, and it seems as though Destiny were of opinion that we are woven, not of nerves, veins, arteries and other organs deduced from them, but of metallic wire." Goethe to Zelter, November 21, 1830. When Muller had told him he had exclaimed "Non ignoravi me mortalem genuisse!" his eyes filling with tears.—Tr.

² Goethe, writing to Zelter, December 10, 1830, tells how he attacked the fragmentary fourth volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in November, and in a fortnight had made it possible to print it. Then his illness had come on. In March 1831 we find him submit it to Eckermann.—Tr.

After Eckermann left Geneva he had visited Frankfurt and Cassel and had arrived in Nordheim, where his betrothed lived at the close of October 1830. He started for Weimar on the afternoon of November 20 and reached Cöttingen at dusk. The landlord of the inn hearing that Eckermann came from Weimar and was now returning calmly said that the great poet Goethe had to endure a great misfortune in his old age for the day's papers announced the death of his only son in Italy. Eckermann passed a sleepless night and afterwards, on the journey alone in the carriage on the gloomy November days amid the desert stillness of the November fields could not take his thoughts off the terrible event and the father's grief. He arrived in Weimar on Tuesday November 3 1830 in the evening. He went to Goethe's house. The noble old man stood firm and upright before him and clasped him lovingly in his arms. Then he sat down apparently calm and cheerful and talked of many things only not a word of his son. The return of Eckermann was undoubtedly a great comfort, beside the satisfaction of affection it lightened the old man's burden for he felt that he might reckon on the most faithful and in the difficult and important labour of preparing all that was still fragmentary and unarranged for publication after his death.¹ Two days later November 5 1830 Eckermann dined with Goethe and Ottlie and had to tell about his travels. After dinner Goethe spoke of the *Conversations*. It must be your first work and we will not desist until the whole is complete and in order. Yet he seemed to Eckermann unusually quiet and often lost in his thoughts—no good sign! That night he was seized with a violent hemorrhage. The extreme skill of his doctor and absolute rest soon restored him. On November 29 1830 he wrote to Zelter in pencil

¹ Zelter called Eckermann (December 1830) Der getreue Eckart and Goethe writing to Zelter on December 13 1830 uses the title — Tr

"Noch ist das Individuum hirsammen und bei Sinnen Glück ruf!"¹ On the morning of November 30 he sent Eckermann some poems for revision and arrangement, and added that *Faust* should soon follow. To complete *Faust* before death now lay on his heart as the last task of his poetic life. The plan of revising the *Conversations* had to be abandoned.

¹ "The individual is still together, and in his sense — God Exalted!" — T.

CHAPTR II

THE CLOSING DAYS

DECEMBER 1830-MARCH 1833

GOETHE'S word "Lange leben heißt nicht überleben"¹ was destined to prove its truth in his case with the most painful force. But that other word "Ueber Criben vorwärts!"² was no less a real part of him. Three years ago Zelter had written sadly telling of the death of his youngest son. Let us continue to labour, Goethe replied until in whatsoever order summoned by the Spirit of the Universe we return to the nether Death that ancient tale which the Parcae unwillingly repeat to one another³ had no terrors for Goethe though he felt intensely the piteousness of the fate of Man who is forced to depart when the powers of his mind have reached their highest development a feeling that found keen

¹ To live long is to outlive many. This is from Goethe's letter to Zelter March 19 1817. The word occurs with modifications elsewhere. See Goethe to Boissiere October 17 1817 Goethe to Schlosser May 17 1819 Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff April 1, 1833 (§ 1 345 of this volume) —TR

Over the graves forward! This will be found at the close of the letter dated January 3 1831 in which Goethe tells Zelter about the last months of August's life —TR

² See the already quoted letter to Zelter March 19 1817 —TR

utterance on the occasion of Sommering's death¹ The short remaining portion of Goethe's life was, even more than the previous years, "testamentary"² Duties which would have fallen to August were now his It was incumbent on him to provide for the future of his grandchildren, and, instead of trustfully leaving his literary *Remains* to a son's discretion, he had to form plans about it and communicate his will concerning it to faithful friends, while that difficult labour—the completion of unfinished writings, (the most important, of course, being the *Faust* and *Dichtung und Wahrheit*) was no less imperatively needful than before

Goethe counted his letters to various persons as part of his *Remains* We have already seen him revising and arranging the *Correspondence with Zelter* It occurred to him that the proceeds of this *Correspondence* should be allotted as a provision for Zelter's daughter Doris On December 6, 1830, Goethe asks Zelter to send a legal affirmation of this plan, which can then take its place among the clauses of his will To Eckermann Goethe considered the task of examining his diaries and letters, in order to select all that ought to be published in the *Remains* (The project of going through Eckermann's *Conversations* had been dropped) Drafts of Goethe's letters to various persons had been kept since 1807 Eckermann spent some weeks at the end of the year 1830 in carefully examining the letters of a few years On January 1, 1831, he brought Goethe a statement of considerations which should, in his opinion, determine the manner of publishing

¹ Sommering died in March 1830 See Sorci's account of a conversation with Goethe, March 17, 1830—TR

² Cf Goethe to Zelter, January 9, 1827, Goethe to Boisserée, January 19, 1827, Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt, March 1, 1829, and Goethe to Zelter, November 23, 1831, for instances of his use of this word—TR

³ See p 383 of this volume —TR

them Goethe went over his statement point by point approved of it and said — In my will I will name you as the editor of these letters and I will moreover indicate that we are in general of the same opinion as to the method to be observed. Meanwhile Chancellor von Müller had undertaken to draft Goethe's will. On January 5 1831 Müller brought the draft to him and he signified complete approval. On January 29 he writes to Zelter — My will was handed over to the Grand Ducal Government on January 8 in the last few days a codicil has been added in order to make my extremely complicated affairs as clear as possible for my descendants' It was a great relief to Goethe when the final arrangements about his will were made. On January 8 he excuses the shortness of his letter to Zelter thus — I forgive me if I stop here All this providing for the future deprives me of my activity in the present moment and it is to be feared that when we have left this behind us a new Leviathan will open wide his jaws.

During the first two months of 1831 Goethe was tolerably well nay we find him towards the close of February venturing on a drive and enjoying the prospect of the snow covered hills¹. Ottlie did all she could think of to give him pleasure. She was his constant companion and in the evenings she read aloud to him from his correspondence with Zelter. We must also picture Goethe as the delighted sympathiser in the little joys and sorrows of his grandchildren the glimpses we obtain of him in his relation to them reveal a noble tenderness and wisdom. His sorrow for August had calmed in so far that he found himself able to send to his Italian friends a hasty sketch of August's journey derived from the diaries. The diaries themselves were extremely interesting but on account of the always prominent individuality not to be

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations* February 3 1831 — TR

communicated in their peculiar energy and decisiveness¹ The death of August was celebrated by the Freemasons' Lodge with the solemnity worthy of the occasion

The Court of Weimar did everything possible to show honour to Goethe Every Thursday the Grand Duchess visited him, and in all her schemes for the advancement of art and of science she asked his advice, the Grand Duke visited him frequently in the evenings, and the Hereditary Prince came sometimes in Soret's company Retired as Goethe's present life was, he found it easy to manage his official business, for everything that he had charge of was in the very best order August's place in the Superintendence was filled by the appointment of Vogel, the physician, but for whose skill Goethe believed that he should have died long before² There was one source of bitter annoyance to Goethe in these official matters, the Estates would insist on an exact account of the expenditure of the money placed in his hands, they were of course only exercising their right, and yet it was hard on the old poet, after so many years of unquestioned benevolent autocracy, to be summoned thus to judgment It was a deep grief to him when the news of the death of his true old friend Klinger, in St Petersburg, arrived in Weimar³ There had been a revival of intercourse between Goethe and Klinger in the beginning of the century, immediately after Goethe's dreadful illness, and at the time when the relations between the Court of Weimar and of Russia had grown intimate⁴

¹ Goethe to Zelter, February 19, 1831 —TR

² See Eckermann's *Conversations*, January 24, 1830 —TR

³ See Muller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, March 31, 1831 —TR

⁴ It will be remembered how Klinger followed Goethe to Weimar in 1776 (See vol 1 p 335) Klinger's dissolute life, and the bad offices of the *Kastapostel* Kaufmann, had caused a breach between the two friends even before Lenz's "donkeyism" (vol 1 p 362) Later Klinger

Meanwhile the great industry which we now have followed through so many years knew no slackening. The translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* was still passing through the press during the early months of 1831. Careful scrutiny of the manuscript and of proofs gave Goethe a great deal to do and led him continually deeper into the subject. Moreover there was the duty of completing the Second Part of *Faust*. In February 1831 he attacked the Fourth Act¹. His advance was slow for he was only able to work at it in the early part of the day while his brain was still fresh after sleep. About this time he made up packets of the letters in his possession intending to return them to the sender. One of these packets contained the letters of Marianne. On March 5, 1831 he wrote eight beautiful lines which have reference to this restoration to Marianne. Yet he could not bear to pain her yet by an act which would bring home to her with such great force the inevitable nearness of his death and the letters did not find their way to Frankfurt until a later time.

Immediately after this Goethe felt very unwell and only his most intimate friends were admitted. Bleeding was prescribed then he felt pains in his right leg and at length his internal complaint relieved itself through a wound in the foot upon which he recovered rapidly and at the close of March

entered the Russian military service and rose to a high rank in it. Part of the correspondence of the second period of friendship between Goethe and Klinger is printed in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* for 1888. Klinger died February 25, 1831. See the Appendix to vol. 1 — TR

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations* February 11, 1831 — TR

² The lines beginning —

Vor die Augen meiner Lieben
Zu den Fingern die s geschrieben

See Creuzenach's note *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer* pp. 304 5 and see Duntzer *Westostlicher DWAN* p. 168 — TR

was as bright and gracious as ever¹ On March 25 he had shown to Eckermann an elegant green arm-chair that he had bought at an auction "However, I shall use it little or not at all," he said, "for all kinds of comfortableness are really quite contrary to my nature You see no sofa in my room, I always sit in my old wooden chair, and it is only within the last few weeks that I have had a kind of rest put up for my head A surrounding of comfortable, pretty furniture paralyses my thought and brings me into an easy, passive condition Splendid rooms and elegant furniture, unless we are accustomed to them from youth, are for people who have no thoughts and who desire none"

During the period of indisposition he had not ceased to work We have seen that he had begun the Fourth Act of *Faust*, and now the Fourth Volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was taken out and Eckermann was employed to examine it, and Goethe talked over with him the results of this examination² And there was the old unwearied activity of interest in science, literature, and art³

On March 31 Goethe was, as we have seen, quite well again, and the Grand Duchess paid him her usual Thursday visit When she inquired after his health he gallantly replied that, until to-day, he had not perceived his recovery, but her presence made him feel anew the happiness of restoration to health On the same day Muller met, at Goethe's house, the Grand Duke, and Spontini, who was returning from a visit to Paris Among other things Goethe talked of Klinger a good deal On May 2, 1831, Goethe told the delighted Eckermann that he had almost succeeded in completing the begin-

¹ Soret in Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 31, 1831 —TR

² See Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 15 and 16, 1831 —TR

³ See Goethe to Boissière, March 20, 1831—a passage near the beginning of the letter —TR

ning of the Fifth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. (He had part of this Act had been written — et cetera.) On May 15 Lekermann dined alone with Goethe in his room. After a great deal of cheerful talk Goethe took a paper from his desk and — When you have passed the age of eighty as I have, he has but little time to live. Let him day by day to hold himself ready to be called away. And I would intent on setting his house in order. As I told you I have in my will appointed a collection of my literary remains and this morning I have drawn up a small kind of contract a little paper which you will I shall show you. After which they discussed matters of detail — to which they had no yet fully decided. Coethe told Lekermann that if successful the polemic part of the *Waffenschmied* in the second

Four days after this dinner with Goethe was followed by a violent catarrh. It lasted for two weeks — it never left him and it tries making him very feeble & an invalid. But it did not check his labour. He sought day by day in the endeavour to do the day that lay next him. And the time was not without many exciting & painful events. The last sheet of Sorck's translation of the *Weimarer Zeitung* was passed through the press — and a great burthen was lifted off Coethe. He sat one evening to the *Fräulein Ferrier*.

On July 5 1831 he writes to Zelter — It is well with me in every sense so that I have no before me an object to be attained ere my next birthday — an object which I will no precipitately mention. If I succeed yet I shall be the first to hear of it. The object in view was the completion of *Faust*. Shortly after Coethe had two pleasant visits. On July 14 1831 the King of Wurtemberg accompanied by the Crown Prince and Sorck came. On July 22 Coethe and Leumer when out driving at about five o'clock in the afternoon met

¹ See Goethe's Zelter June 15 1831 — Tr.

Zelter and Schultz, they turned back at once, and, after the new-comers had arranged matters at the "Swan" inn, all spent the evening together. Zelter remained until July 26, this was the last meeting of the old friends. After Zelter's departure the colossal marble bust of Goethe that David had modelled in 1829 at last arrived in Weimar. It was accompanied by a reverential letter from David—"Vous êtes la grande figure poetique de notre époque, elle vous doit une statue." Goethe gave the bust to the Library of Weimar, to be the companion of Dannecker's bust of Schiller. Another very much prized gift arrived in August 1831. Under date August 20, 1831, Goethe writes to Zelter—"Fifteen English Friends—as they subscribe themselves—caused a seal to be prepared by then most famous goldsmiths. It is of a size to be easily contained in the hollow of the hand, and in shape is like a longish vase. The English seem to think the word 'Ohne Rast, doch ohne Hast'¹ to be one of considerable significance, and at bottom it is a very good expression of their own way of acting. These words are inscribed around a star, within the well-known serpent curling all, unfortunately Old German capital letters are used, and these tend somewhat to obscure the meaning. It is a gift in every sense worthy of thanks, and I have written some friendly rhymes² to them in return for it." The originator of this gift was Thomas Carlyle, and among the subscribers were, beside Carlyle, two of the

¹ Goethe misquotes his own words. The verses will be found among the *Zahme Xemen* —

"Wie das Gestirn,
Ohne Hast,
Aber ohne Rast,
Diehe sich jeder
Um die eigne Last!"—TR

² To *Nineteen Friends in England*. See a note in the Appendix to this volume — TR

greatest Englishmen then living—Walter Scott and Wordsworth. The rest were poets and literary men, all with but a few exceptions of real importance though they attained not to the first three¹. The letter which accompanied the seal speaks with deep feeling of the great debt due to the poet Goethe, as a spiritual teacher, by the whole world, our chief perhaps our only benefactor is he who by act and word instructs us in wisdom.

Meanwhile Goethe had attained the goal towards which he had so long been striving. He had finished the *Faust*. By August 1831 the manuscript of the whole Second Part lay before him stitched and complete. He was very happy. “The rest of my life,” he said to Eckermann, “may be regarded as a free gift and it is now in reality a matter of indifference what I do and whether I do anything at all.”

The birthday which proved to be the last of Goethe’s life was now close at hand. It would be celebrated in Weimar by festivities which he desired to avoid and accordingly on August 26 1831, he betook himself to Ilmenau accompanied by his grandsons. Eighteen years since at the same season of the year, he had gone thither to join Karl August² and since that time he had not seen the place. Mining for silver in Ilmenau had been entirely abandoned, still the poet could find a source of great pleasure in the “remarkable utilisation of the manifold surfaces and depths of earth and mountain” that he observed. The boys absorbed everything with fresh, healthy senses and he watched them with delight as we have

¹ Southey Proctor Heraud (of *Fraser’s Magazine*) Professor Wilson John Carlyle Lockhart Lord Francis Leveson Gower Moir Jordan (of the *Literary Gazette*) Maginn, Fraser (of the *Foreign Review*) Churchill (author of a translation of *Hallenstans Lager* that appeared in *Fraser’s Magazine*) —TR.

² See *Fraser’s Magazine* p. 447 (November 1831) —TR.

³ In 1813 See p. 99 of this volume —TR.

known him watch August long ago¹ "These dear novices pressed without poetic vehicle into contact with the primary immediate circumstance of Nature They saw the charcoal-burners on the spot as they live, people who during the whole year taste neither bread nor butter nor beer, subsisting only on potatoes and goat's milk, and there are others, such as wood-cutters, glass-blowers, who fare in the same way, but all are more cheerful than we, who usually lose the *To-day* because there has been a *Yesterday* and a *To-morrow* is coming"² This excursion lasted six days, the very brightest days of all that summer³ It was at the inn called "The Lion," in the little town, that Goethe stayed during this time

On August 27, 1831, he invited the *Rentamtmann* Mahr to drive with him to the hill called the Gickelhahn There, almost half a century ago, he had written the noble poem *Ilmenau*, addressed to Karl August⁴ Here, too, and at the same time, he had pencilled the verses *Nachtlied*⁵ on the wall of the wooden hut on the summit When the carriage which

¹ See p 138 of this volume —TR

² Goethe to the Willemers, September 22, 1831 —Ti

³ Goethe to Zelter, September 4, 1831 —Ti

⁴ See vol 1 pp 432, 440 —TR

⁵ "Ueber allen Gipfeln" In the edition of his poems published in 1815 these lines follow the *Wanaers Nachtlied* of 1776 (see vol 1 p 322), and are entitled *Ein Gleicher* The date assigned to them is "6th September 1783" Now Goethe was not in Ilmenau on September 6, 1783 On that day he started from Weimar for the Harz with Fritz Stein (see vol 1 p 446) But Duntzer gives the original inscription on the hut wall — "Am 2 Sept 1783, Nachtlied" On that day we know Goethe to have been at Ilmenau (Duntzer, *Goethes Hunsche Gedichte*, n 150) (Several Goethe scholars, however, assert that the original date was "September 7, 1780" Goethe spent the night between September 6 and 7, 1780, in the hut on the Gickelhahn See his letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which he describes the clear evening sky, the faint smoke, the great stillness Loeper, Goedeke, and Fielitz believe the poem to have been written on that evening) — TR

bore Mahr and Goethe had gone as far as possible they alighted to climb the rest of the way on foot. Goethe gazed on the beautiful prospect with mingled delight and sadness

Ah he cried "would that my good Grand Duke Karl August could have seen this loveliness once more! Then he hurried up the steep ascent with youthful eagerness nor would he accept any aid from his companion When he stood before the inscription—

Ueber allen Gipfeln
I t I uh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spurest du
Kaum einen Hauch
Die Vogeln schweigen im Walde
Warte nur balde
Ruhest du auch —

tears flowed down his face Slowly he drew his handkerchief from his pocket dried his tears and said in a gentle melancholy voice Ja warte nur balde ruhest du auch' was silent half a minute looked out through the window at the dark pine wood and then turned to Mahr saying Now we will go down again

Though Goethe had fled from Weimar to avoid birthday festivities the good people of Ilmenau, with *Oberjagermeister von Fritsch* at their head were determined not to let the day pass unhonoured they did not forget what Ilmenau and the whole neighbourhood owed to the great poet. Early in the morning the chorale 'Nun danket alle Gott' was sung in front of the Lion inn A cheerful company assembled at the dinner with which they entertained him later on and in the evening there was a great deal of music and the miners comedy mentioned in *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* was performed In Weimar the colossal bust by David had been

unveiled in the Library on August 28, and the usual banquet had taken place, with signs of sympathy more general than ever. And eighteen friends in Frankfort united to send him a gift truly characteristic of his native city, viz. four dozen of old Main wine and Rhine wine.

We have heard him say to Eckermann when *Faust* was finished "I consider the rest of life as a gift." Yet he continued to add many touches to *Faust* during the autumn. Moreover that last precious volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was still unfinished. Fortunately for his labours his good health remained unbroken until the final illness, though he had to lead a very regular and secluded life, and there were many signs of the feebleness of old age. It was at this period that he read Cicero's treatise *De Senectute* for the first time. We find him venturing out-of-doors even in October. Thus on October 6 he visited the Central Tree Nursery, and on October 19 he was present at the Exhibition held at Belvedere of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Botany continued to exercise the same delightful attraction, that which chiefly interested him was the discovery of Martius of the spiral tendency of plants, moreover, he had entered into communication with the chemist Wackenroder on the subject of the chemistry of plants. His life was, as ever, an unresting toil, each morning he found more work waiting on him than the day sufficed for—Art, Literature, Natural Science, the old official tasks with which we are so familiar, the activity of beneficence to fellow-creatures, and a wide correspondence.

Moreover, he enjoyed a remarkable tranquil domestic happiness during these closing months, the behaviour of Ottolie and his grandchildren was "allerliebst"¹. Ottolie shielded him skilfully from unpleasantness, saw that everything occurred at the right time, read aloud to him in the

¹ Goethe to Zelter, No 818 (v 300) —Tr.

evenings from Plutarch's *Lives*, and by her intelligence and originality of character was a source of continual delight. Moreover the visits from the royal family of Weimar and continual intercourse with a circle of good friends—Eckermann Riemer Meyer Muller Coudray and Vogel—contributed to give brightness to the evening of his life.

In November 1831 Goethe withdrew to live entirely in the rooms at the rear of his house where the rising sun just at this season shines horizontally into my room and does not leave me until it sets so that its obtrusiveness often grows inconvenient, and I am actually compelled to shut it out for a while.¹ In these little rooms he felt very happy for there was not a moment unoccupied by some interesting labour. In January 1832 he read aloud *Faust* to Ottolie and he continued to change and retouch the drama. It is strange to find Goethe at this time supplying an omission in his *Farbenlehre* as he had planned to do many years before. Boisserée wrote in December 1831 noticing that a word in explanation of the Rainbow might well be inserted since Goethe was preparing his *Farbenlehre* for publication as part of his *Remains*. Upon this Goethe began an exposition of the Rainbow in a series of letters to Boisserée. His death came before the series was finished. The *Farbenlehre* in general occupied a good deal of his time at present the historical part especially called for revision. Another branch of science which engaged Goethe's last months was Comparative Anatomy. A second article on St Hilaire was only completed by March 1832. Goethe had here this entirely abandoned the study of Meteorology and the meteorological institutions of Jena were contracted in their operation for it was thought that no laws were deducible from observations made in such a fickle climate—the task must be left to meteorologists in tropical lands.

¹ Goethe to Zelter November 23 1831.—TR

A visit from Zelter's daughter Doris in January 1832 brought a pleasant stir and excitement into the quiet family circle of the Goethes. Ottolie was an admirable hostess, and Goethe too aided in his own fashion, so that Doris enjoyed the Weimar life very much. Yet Goethe, with all his cheerful sympathy in the life of others, did not forget that his own end must be near. On February 10, 1832, he told Marianne of the packet of her letters that he had prepared. He only asked her to promise not to open it until "the indeterminate hour" arrived.¹

On March 6, 1832, Goethe received a letter from the artist Zahn,² who was then in Pompeii, accompanied by a hasty sketch of a splendid mosaic painting. This sketch gave the poet a great deal of joyful occupation. The painting, a representation of one of the battles of Alexander, had been found in the house excavated in the presence of August Goethe in 1830. This house had received the name *Casa di Goethe*. Zahn in his letter related how, on Goethe's last birthday, a company of Germans and foreigners had met in this house and celebrated the day with high revel. Goethe sent a long letter of thanks to Zahn on March 10, 1832.

On March 15 the Grand Duchess paid Goethe her usual Thursday visit. He talked with vivacity of the Pompeian painting and of many other things, especially of the political events of the day. At dinner he was very cheerful, and he took his usual drive. He was quite well that evening. But he had a very restless night, and his grandson Wolf, coming to breakfast with him as usual, found him in bed. Yet he was able to receive visits in the evening. On Sunday, March 18, he spent a few hours out of bed, and spoke of work again.

¹ The packet was not sent to Marianne until after Goethe's death. See Eckermann's letter to her, Creizenich, *Goethe und Marianne*, 329.—Tr.

² See pp. 391 and 392 of this volume.—Tr.

On the evening of March 19 he talked with his doctor (who as we have seen was associated with him in the Superintendence) of many matters connected with the institutions that dealt with Art and Science, he was especially intent on the promotion of certain of the officials whom he had ere this recommended to Vogel. On the night between the 19th and 20th the illness suddenly assumed a threatening character. After some hours of sound sleep Goethe awoke about midnight and felt a chill that began with the hands spreading minute by minute over his whole body and soon pains in the chest difficulty of breathing and restless wretchedness followed. Yet he would not allow his servant to call the doctor because there was 'only suffering in question, no danger to life.' When Vogel came in the morning the case seemed to him a very bad one, however, the measures which he adopted brought great relief and on this day Tuesday March 20 1830 Goethe was able to sign a document which secured a regular support to a gifted young artist a Weimar lady in whom he took a paternal interest¹. Next day Wednesday March 1, Goethe seemed better in the forenoon but from noon on the signs of the approaching end were plain. Yet he still anticipated recovery. The doctor would not allow any one to see him but Ottolie his grandchildren, and his servant. On the morning of March 2 he had Ottolie to sit beside him he held her hand long in his and talked cheerfully with her. But his words began to grow gradually more and more indistinct until at length all speech failed. Then he sought to communicate by signs at first in the air then when his waning strength sufficed no longer to hold up his arm he wrote on his lap. At about half past eleven in the forenoon he drew himself into the corner of his chair and

¹ This Goethe's last handwriting is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar — TR

departed gently from life—so gently that the actual moment was unobserved. At the same hour, on the same day of the month, his true friend Voigt had died thirteen years before. And in



FIG 15 Goethe lying in death. From the original drawing by Friedrich Preller, by permission of the possessor of the drawing, Frau Mathilde Arnemann of Weimar

1825 the theatre of Weimar was burned on March 22, and this he had thenceforward regarded as his day of misfortune.

We refrain from any description of the great sympathy shown by those who came to see the dead lying in state, or

of the splendid funeral which accompanied him to the *Fürstengruft* on the afternoon of March 26. With reverence let us enter that vault where as he desired, his dust was laid by that of Schiller in an oaken shrine in front of the bronze coffins of Karl August and Luise—the good friends of his long toilful glorious life. Mankind knows no spot more sacred than the

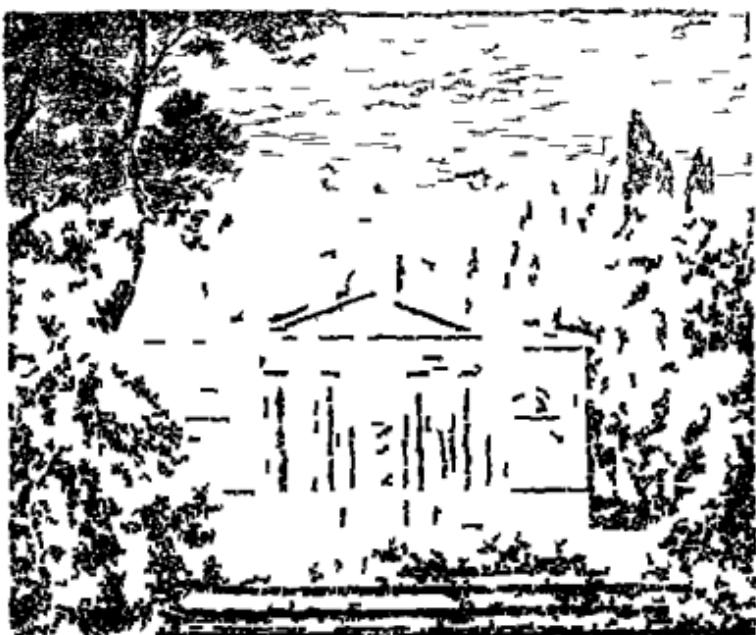
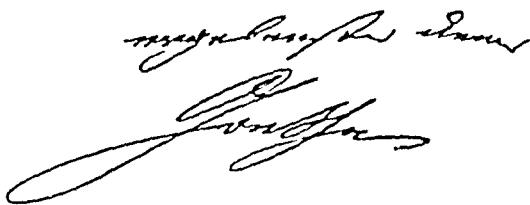


FIG. 6. THE FÜRSTENGRUFT AT WILHELMSTADT GRAVING.

resting place of the German Dioscuri. They do not like the Twin Brethren of Grecian legend lead a life of alternate splendour and darkness now in Olympus, now in the lower world—they live in the light of a fame not subject to the limitations of place or time. And that their final repose in union is so true a symbol of the noble brotherhood that united them in life is a rare blossom in the wreath of pure human virtues which together with the laurel adorns Goethe's brow.

THE LIFE OF GOETHE

1784



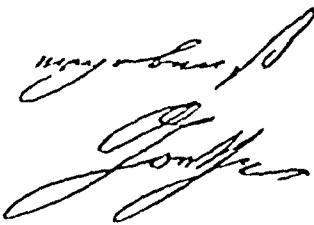
A cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. W. Goethe". Above the signature, there is handwritten text that appears to read "meine lieben Freunde".

1793



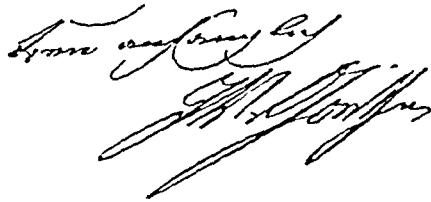
A cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. W. Goethe". Above the signature, there is handwritten text that appears to read "meine lieben Freunde".

1818



A cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. W. Goethe". Above the signature, there is handwritten text that appears to read "meine lieben Freunde".

1827



A cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. W. Goethe". Above the signature, there is handwritten text that appears to read "meine lieben Freunde".

1827



A cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. W. Goethe". Above the signature, there is handwritten text that appears to read "meine lieben Freunde".

Facsimile Signatures of Goethe at various times

APPENDIX TO VOL I

A SECOND edition of the life of Goethe has been called for already in Germany. The author has taken the opportunity to revise in accordance with the latest discoveries. Nearly all the translation was in type before the second edition was finished. Therefore I endeavour in the following Appendix to give to English Goethe students the value of the most important change in a series of numbered Articles. In each case I give reference to the page of the translation where the article may be supposed to intercalate. The possessors of the translation can easily insert on its pages counter references to the articles of the Appendix.

It must be borne in mind that minute changes in the text of the original due to the taste of the author and in general tiny enlargements of the mass of fact which do not affect our view of Goethe are omitted from this Appendix. They would really tend to diminish its usefulness. *Errata* properly so called are also for the most part excluded here; a list of them will be found at the beginning of each volume.

1 *Circumstances of Goethe's birth* vol 1 p 3 —Goethe according to the *Book of Baptisms* of Frankfurt was born between noon and one o'clock on August 8 1749 and was baptized in his father's house on the following day by Dr Johann Philipp Fresenius the Sunday preacher at the Grey Friars Church. Dr Fresenius was the clergyman who afterwards undertook to prepare Wolfgang for confirmation (vol 1 p 40).

2 *The date of the birth of Johann Kaspar Goethe* (vol 1 p 4) is omitted in the second edition. The date of his baptism is given instead. It is July 31 1710. Moreover the marriage of the poet's father and mother (vol 1 p 6) took place not on July 10 but on August 10 1748.

3 *Walth of the elder Goethes* —Friedrich Georg Goethe (vol 1 p 4)

a hers. Soon after his second marriage his wife's father one of the richest men of the city died leaving his daughter one third of his property. Johann Kaspar Goethe left the greater part of the family property to his

mother's disposal while she lived. He paid tax on only 2000 gulden. In 1704, Friedrich Georg Goethe, just before his second marriage, had paid tax on 15,000.

4 *Hermann Jakob Goethe*, vol 1 p 11.—The cause which prevented intimacy with this man's family was the badness of the character of his wife.

5 *Goethe in Wetzlar*.—It is observed (vol 1 p 183) that Goethe did little in Wetzlar to increase his knowledge of Law. The single trace of his presence, writes Herbst (*Goethe in Wetzlar*, 33), that the lawyer Goethe has left in Wetzlar is his entry in the *Matrikel*, a book kept for the self-registry of young practitioners—

JOHANN WOLFG. GOTHE
VON FRFURT AM MAYN

25 May, 1772

Duntzer notes in the new edition that those students who really purposed to learn some law placed themselves under some older lawyer, who gave them lectures and law-work. We do not hear that Goethe did anything of the kind.

6 *Charlotte Buff's birthday*, see vol 1 pp 186 and 209, footnote.—On page 156 of the new edition, the date January 11 is a misprint for January 13. Herbst is quite mistaken on this point. The church registry of Wetzlar contains the entry of Charlotte Buff's birth on January 13, 1753, and the entry of her baptism on January 14, 1753. It was then customary in Germany to baptize on the day following the day of birth.

7 *Kestner's first acquaintance with Charlotte Buff*, vol 1 p 186.—On page 156 of his new edition Duntzer gives the date of Kestner's first arrival in Wetzlar, May 3, 1767, and mentions that Kestner's love had been won by Lotte from the very beginning of his residence in her neighbourhood (see Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, p 107). The old date, "the summer or autumn of 1768," is accordingly incorrect. Moreover, Duntzer corrects his statement (vol 1 p 188) that Kestner was soon Lotte's declared lover. In the new edition (p 158) he writes—"The young Secretary of Legation was soon the most intimate friend of the family. But it was only to her mother that he declared his love for Charlotte, and his purpose to win her for his wife. Frau Buff gave her blessing to the union before her death, which took place in March 1771. From that time the cares of the household fell on Charlotte." I add, however, that Kestner soon learned that Lotte loved him. On November 2, 1768, he writes—"I know that I possess the whole heart of my beloved May Heaven keep it mine."

8 *The walks on which Goethe accompanied Lotte*, vol 1 p 189.—Duntzer adds in the new edition (p 159) that they sometimes went as far

as Garbenheim or even to Atzbach to see friend named Rhodus Herbst (p 114) mentions however that when Kestner was not with them some female friend accompanied Lotte

9 *The remarkable crisis of Goethe's passion for Lotte in August 1772*
 vol 1 pp 191 195 —When Goethe visited Lotte on August 8 at Atzbach the passionate ardour which he displayed made her feel very uneasy On August 13 Kestner was in Giessen on business He returned on the same day and Lotte accompanied by Dorothea von Brandt and by Coethe came to meet him In the evening Kestner was much vexed when he heard from Lotte that Goethe had kissed her Lotte told it frankly and simply not so much complaining of Goethe as regretting that the incident had occurred Kestner's Diary has the following entries —

A little *brouillerie* with Lottchen [on August 13] which was all past and forgotten next day

August 14 In the evening Goethe returning from a walk came to the courtyard [of the Teutonic Order] He was treated with indifference and soon went away

August 15 Goethe was sent to Atzbach to take an apricot to Frau Rentmeisterin Rhodus He returned at ten o'clock in the evening and found us sitting outside the door the flowers that he brought were left lying about carelessly he felt the slight and flung them away he spoke 11 parables I walked with Goethe that night in the street until twelve o'clock a remarkable conversation when he showed himself to be full of disgust and had all kinds of fancies, at which in the end we laughed leaning against a wall in the moonlight

On August 16—it was a Sunday—Goethe received a lecture from Lottchen she declared to him that he had nothing but friendship to hope for he grew pale and was very much cast down We went out for a walk by the Neustadt Gate afterwards Goethe and I in Bostel's company

Goethe went to Giessen on August 18 1772 vol 1 p 192 Herbst (*Goethe's Wet Jar* 1,4) mentions that Lotte had gone thither on August 17—the day after that Sunday on which she had given Goethe the lecture When Goethe and Merck were at Pfaff's house on the evening of August 18 it was proposed that Lotte should return to Wetzlar in their company This she refused to do she wished Kestner to come and fetch her home On the afternoon of August 19 Goethe and Merck wandered down the bank of the Lahn to Wetzlar Goethe hastened to Kestner late that evening and told him that Lotte wanted him to go to Giessen for her and also informed him of Merck's arrival Very early on the morning of August 20 Kestner arose and rode to Giessen and brought Lotte home in a carriage which he hired in Giessen Lotte drove the horse herself and the two lovers arrived in Wetzlar before noon After dinner the whole Buff family accompanied Merck and Goethe to Garbenheim There they separated the Buff returning to Wetzlar Goethe and Merck going on to

Giessen On August 22, a Saturday, Merck left Giessen for Frankfurt, where he meant to spend the Sunday with Goethe's parents. Merck's endeavour to persuade Goethe to come back to Frankfurt was fruitless (vol. 1 p. 192), but Goethe promised to meet Merck on some fixed day within a few weeks at the house of Frau von Liroche at Thalhren breitstein, and thence to go up the Rhine with him to Frankfurt. The time originally fixed for Goethe's stay in Wetzlar was indeed over, and Ruth Goethe could not but desire the return of his son, who was making so little use of the legal advantages of Wetzlar. See Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, 189.

10 *The farce Das Unglück des Jacobis*—This farce, which the old edition placed after *Weilther* in the spring of 1774 (vol. 1 p. 237) Duntzer now removes to the October of 1772. On the last day of May, or in the beginning of June, 1774, Goethe told Johann Föhler that *Das Unglück des Jacobis* was written immediately after his return in Merck's company from the Rhine trip of September 1772. See the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1881, page 383, and see Article 26 of this Appendix. At the close of the first paragraph on page 202 of our translation insert—"About this time the farce *Das Unglück des Jacobis* must have originated, it was founded on a certain story that came to Goethe's ears." This farce was never finished. See Hopfner's letter, quoted p. 237. Goethe promised Johann Föhler, in the conversation to which reference has already been made, that it should never see the light again.

11 *Goethe's friendship with Klinger and with Kayser*—In the first edition Goethe's intimacy with these friends is represented as beginning in the spring of 1774, when Merck was withdrawn for a while from Goethe's society (see vol. 1 p. 240). But in the second edition Duntzer places the commencement of intimacy between them more than twelve months earlier. (On August 26, 1801, Klinger writes to Goethe—"I am, with the old feelings known to you more than twenty-eight years, your cordially devoted Klinger.") At the close of the first paragraph of page 207, vol. 1, of our translation insert—"About this time [midwinter 1772-3] Klinger seems to have drawn nearer to Goethe. In September 1772 Klinger [who was three years younger than Goethe] left school, and not having money enough to go to an university maintained himself by private teaching. And probably it was at this time that Goethe made the acquaintance of Philipp Christoph Kayser. Kayser, who was now seventeen, was the son of Johann Matthias Kayser, the organist of the Grey Friars Church of Frankfurt." It will be seen that one of the details on page 240, vol. 1, is here corrected by Duntzer—Kayser's father was not organist of St. Katharine's but of Grey Friars. As to the new details on Klinger, see Duntzer's article *Klinger in Weimar* in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. xi., and Rieger's new book on Klinger.

12 *The satirical Jahnaukt which Goethe wrote in the spring of 1773*, vol. 1 p. 213—Duntzer inserts in the new edition a statement from one

of Caroline Flachsland's letters, that Goethe put Leuchsenring into this satire in order to please Merck. (*un Merck die Corr u machen*)

13 *The Princess Luise of Darmstadt starts for Berlin* c. 1773 vol 1 p. 15—This event is misplaced in the first edition. Goethe was in Darmstadt from April 15 to May 3, 1773. How then could he have seen the Princess step into her carriage on the *Zel* at Frankfurt? Duntzer's correct arrangement in the second edition makes all clear. Merck and the Princess departed (not in April) but on May 7, 1773. It was after Goethe's sorrowful return from Herder's wedding that he had to bear the news of grief of parting from Merck. The possessor of our translation will insert the event on page 16 instead of page 15. On page 86 he will correct April 1773 into May 1773. Moreover it was not after her death but three days before it that Goethe spoke to Chancellor von Müller of having seen her light and slender step into the carriage that was to bear her away. See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe* February 10, 1830. See vol II of our translation page 415.

14 *The date of Herder's marriage* vol 1 p. 215—Herder was married on May 2, 1773 not on May 1, 1773 as the first edition states. Goethe returned to Frankfurt on the following day. On page 217 accordingly correct May 2, 1773 to May 3. (See Haym *Herders Leben* vol 1 p. 531.)

15 On p. 18 vol 1 insert at the end of the first paragraph—*Got* was being printed at Merck's printing press at Arheiligen at this time and the task of correcting the proof sheets gave Goethe a great deal of work.

16 *The silhouette and poem* vol 1 pp. 18-19—These are misplaced in the first edition. They belong not to June 1773 but to September 1773. They were sent with the letter of September 15, 1773 which is quoted on page 3.

17 *Satyrus oder der zweite Walddreifel*—Duntzer in the second edition places the summer of 1773. In the first August or September 1774 (see vol 100) discovered since he wrote on the last day of May 1774 or in the beginning of June 1774. Goethe told Johanna Fahlmer that the *Satyrus* was written before she went to Düsseldorf. Now she went to Düsseldorf in September 1773 with Helene and Lotte Jacobi. See vol 1, p. 22 of our translation. (See the *Goethe Jahrbuch* for 1881 p. 382.) At the close of the first paragraph of p. 21 vol 1 insert—A product of the overflowing wanton humour and spirits of this time was the drama *Satyrus oder der zweite Walddreifel*. It represents a common adventurer who seeks by arrogant assumption to satisfy his greed for power and to appease the cravings of sense.

18 *Götter Helden und Wielaud*—In the second edition Duntzer places this farce with *Prometheus* at the beginning of October 1773. The

couple of farces on Wieland and the Jacobis, which Goethe read to Schonborn (vol 1 p 226), would accordingly be *Das Unglück der Jacobis und Gotter Helden und Wieland*. Remove the mention of it from page 227 to the foot of page 223. The plan of *Prometheus* had been in Goethe's mind in June 1773, as well as the plan of *Faust*, vol 1 p 218.

19 *Plan of Egmont*—In the second edition Duntzer conjectures that the “beautiful new plan for a great drama,” of which Goethe writes to Johanna Fahlmer, October 18, 1773, may have been the plan of *Egmont*, and the words quoted from a letter to Boie later on (vol 1 p 229), “The sacrifice is prepared,” etc., refer probably to *Egmont*, not to *Julius Cæsar*.

20 Duntzer thinks that the *Jahrmarktfest zu Plundersweiler* is to be ascribed to this time, October 1773. It is probably a development of the satiric *Jahrmarkt* of April 1773, vol 1 p 213, and see Article 12 of this Appendix.

21 *Goethe and Klinger*—During the winter of 1773-4 a place of assembly for the mad doings of Goethe and the young geniuses of the *Sturm und Drang* period in Frankfurt, was the “smoky little room,” in the humble house of Klinger’s mother, on the *Rittergasschen*. There a party of these young friends met every Saturday evening and indulged in crack-brained pranks.

Klinger’s youngest sister, Agnes, a beautiful and intellectual girl of sixteen, was a sympathetic partaker in the zeal for freedom of the young geniuses. Long after, Goethe refers to the smoky little room in a letter to Klinger, dated Weimar, December 8, 1811. (From the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880, p 397, I extract a reference to Burkhardt’s article in the *Grenzboten* for 1879 *Das Klingerhaus in Frankfurt*.)

22 *Prolog zu den neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes, verdeutscht durch Dr. K. Fr. Bahrdt*—In the first edition Duntzer places this in the period that followed the completion of *Werther*, see vol 1 p 237. He now believes it to have been written about January 1774. Bahrdt had published a kind of watery, diluted paraphrase of the New Testament, called *Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes*. This disgusted Goethe, and he wrote the dramatic scene mentioned above. Bahrdt was Professor of Theology in the University of Giessen. Goethe sent the thing to his friend Hopfner, a Professor of Law in Giessen, and Hopfner had it printed at once.

23 *Fastnachtsspiel, auch wohl zu tragen nach Ostern, von Pater Brey dem falschen Propheten*—When Goethe had completed *Werther* there was a load lifted from him, and a period of high spirits followed. During this period he wrote the satire above-named. Pater Brey, the False Prophet, is a conception which originated in a study of Leuchsenring’s odious character, and his sentimental self-imposition on Caroline Flachsland, who was for a time taken in by his pretence. But Goethe carefully abstained from particular details which might lead the public to identify the character with its prototype. Only one well acquainted with

the circle would have guessed the secret. The *Fastnachtsspiel* or *Pater Brey* is to be ascribed to March 1774 vol 1 p 237

-4 Other work which belongs to the same period as *Pater Brey* — Coethe wrote in the March and April of 1774 some poems and songs which have reference to Art. Moreover he wrote that fresh gallant lyric *So ist der Held d'r mir o'falle*. In this poem he takes his careles stand against the mawkish effeminate note of the poems of Wieland and of Wieland's imitators especially of J G Jacobi and of the mild young writer of pastorals Werthes whom he met a few months later at Pempel fort vol 1 p 251. The student will find *So ist der Held* in *D'r junge Goethe* II 37

25 *Ah roer and Goethe* —The account of Klinger on page 240 of our translation must be corre ted and enlarged. This has been already partially done by Article 11. The student will now erase the sentence beginning When Klinger came back f om Giessen and allowing the general account of Klinger to stand will insert the following add tions — To Goethe's loss of Merck's intimate companionship at this time must be added a temporary deprivation of the society of Klinger who left Frankfurt to study law at Giessen April 16 1774 is the date of his matriculatio n as *studiosus juris*. Goethe had procured for the needy young fellow hospitable re option into the house of Professor Hopfner. He was unable to give him money and indeed Klinger would not have tal en money as a gift. But Goethe gave him the fa ces—the *Jahr uirktsfe t u Phundersu ilern* and *Pat r Brey*—with permission to do as he pleased with them—to tear them to store them away or to sell them (The reader will here turn to the foot of page 6. of our transla t on and make a correction) Klinger was at th s time occupied with his drama *Otto* inspired by his admiration for *G t von Berl chroen*. The friendship with Kl nger was not broken off by this separation but it lost some of its intimacy.

-6 *Johanna Fahl er's end atour to mediate between Goethe and Wieland* —On page -42 the golden wedding of the Schweitzer Allesinas on May 30 1774 is mentioned. Goethe danced in May 31 the birthday of Max Brentano. He tells Frau von Laroche of th s in a letter witten at the beginning of June 1774 see the translator's footnote No 3. In the same letter he writes — I have read the passages in the com n number of the Wieland's *Merkur* which relate to me. He treats the matter like a good fellow who sits firm in the saddle. I have ne er had any injury from him an i now I pardon him his blasphemies aga nst my gods. We no t know how Goethe obtained a ght of the pages of a number of the *Merkur* that is not yet published. The *Goethe Jahrbu l* for 1881 p 378 reprints a letter from Jacobi to Wieland wh ch should be dated June 8 not May 8 1774 (It should accordingly be preceded by the letter reprinted on page 383 dated June 4 1774). In this letter Jacobi sends to Wieland an extract from a letter from Johanna Fahlmer

received on June 6, 1774. This extract is a dialogue between Johanna and Goethe. Very soon after the golden wedding, probably on the day after, Goethe visited the Tante. He was at this time very anxiously awaiting the appearance of the new number of the *Münchener*. In this number Wieland would, he expected, take his revenge for the farce *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, which had been published by the mischievous Lenz (See page 236 of our translation). It was Johanna's design to shame him by showing him Wieland's generous and appreciative criticism of *Gotz*, and his good-humoured notice of the farce. Jacobi had sent her the sheets of the unpublished *Münchener*. She placed the article on *Gotz* before Goethe, after reading for a time he broke out into expressions of surprised pleasure and approval. Yet there was something in Wieland's tone that annoyed him. The "paternal manner" of Wieland, his conviction that Goethe will "in time" judge after another fashion—"In time! In time! yes, there it is, there it is! that is just the way my father speaks, the same dispute that I have with my father in matters politic I have with Wieland in these points." After this Tante Fahlmer made him read Wieland's notice of the farce. The skilfully calculated *bonhomie* of Wieland conquered him—"We recommend this little work to all lovers of the *pasquin* manner as a masterpiece of persiflage and sophistic wit." Goethe grew red, and Tante saw that he was agitated. Then he said—"He could not have done it better. Very good! I say it, henceforth for ever I must let him alone. Wieland gains a great deal with the public by this incident. I am completely exposed to derision."

After this Tante put the thumbscrews on him with regard to the farce on the Jacobis. For word of this farce had come to the ears of those satirised in it, one of whom was Johanna herself. "Since I was at Dusseldorf, has not some other pretty thing like the *Götter und Helden* dialogue been composed?" "Nothing, dear Tante," replied Goethe. "The *Satyrus*?"—"No, that was done before you went away." "Nothing at all?" she persisted, "a friendly drama of the same kind," looking straight into his eyes. "You are honest, Goethe! So you must tell me."

Goethe—"That I will—Yes, dear Tante, ask and I will tell!"

Tante—"The *Unglück der J** * * *?"

Goethe—"Yes, that is true. But that was written long ere I knew you all [it was about March 1773 that Goethe seems first to have become intimate with Johanna. See p. 212 of our translation], and was founded merely on anecdotes, on tittle-tattle, all from hearsay. All of you play ridiculous parts together in it. You too, Tante. No one but Lisette Runkel, Meick, and Dean Dumeril has read it [he forgot Hopfner (p. 237) and Klopstock (p. 242)], and no one else in the world shall hear or see it, it shall never again smell the light. And it has not been finished either—it is of no further account."

Tante—"But must I really not hear it?"

Goethe—"Dear Tante, it is impossible. Do not ask it."

After a good deal of talk between them it grew clear who the hero

was and what had given rise to the farce. It was written immediately after the return of Merck and Goethe from Coblenz [therefore in September or October 1772. See Article 10 of this Appendix]

This conversation helps us to understand Goethe's visit to Jacobi a few months later and his reconciliatory message to Wieland in December 1774.

It may be here fitly noted that the letter to Frau von Laroche quoted on p. 243 of our translation is a reply to a letter in which she had spoken of Wieland's utterance on *Got*. Loepert observes that the pupil of Spinoza is recognisable in Goethe's observations on the Good and the Bad. These observations were evoked by a passage in which Wieland speaks of the man whose philosophy is founded on the principle that the Bad is Good and the Good is Bad. The concluding sentences of Goethe's letter are explained by the following quotation from Wieland — Supposing also that a man who does not love us must for that reason be a bad man.

Duntzer notes in the new edition that the Alexandrine *Un livre croire n'est pas fort dangereux* is a line of Voltaire's. Loepert observes that it would be a good motto for Goethe's *Epistle to Schiller on Books and Reading* (1, 95).

-7 Goethe in Ems July 17 1774 vol 1 p 49 — Late on the evening of the day on which he wrote *Des Künstlers Erdevalen* Goethe wrote under Lotte Kestner's silhouette which he carried with him

Lotte gute Nacht am 17 Juh 1774

Künstlers Erdevalen was sent off to Klinger probably accompanied by the *Prolo* which forms the introduction to the group of farces that form the *Puppenspiel*. These farces are *Küttlers Erdevalen*, *Jah markt fest u Plüderstern* and *Piter brey*. As the two last named had been given to Klinger in the spring of 1774 (see Article -5 of this Appendix) Klinger had now the whole *Puppenspiel* in his hands. He was in pressing need at the time and was trying to get money for them. They had been offered to Nicolai by Hopfner but a reply from Nicolai had not yet come.

28 Goeth Klüber and Wagner vol 1 pp 62 63 — The reader will make some additions to this paragraph and the modification needful to bring it into consonance with the following — About the time of the September Fair of 1774 Klinger was released from Giessen by holidays. He came to Frankfurt his mind full of his wild play *Otto Tilis* play as already noticed is an imitation of *Got* but far exceeds *Got* in violence of language. Klinger Goethe and their circle indulged in a wild *jeu d'esprit* during the holidays. Nicolai had agreed to purchase Goethe's *Puppenspiel* (see Article -7) and now Weygand the publisher of *Ulrich* had at Goethe's request undertaken to bring it out giving Klinger a moderate honorarium.

Wagner whom Goethe had known in the old Strassburg time had been banished from Saarbrücken because he espoused with too much zeal the cause of his master Iresident von Grunderode who had fallen under the displeasure of his prince. When he visited Frankfurt the bookseller

Deinet had persuaded him to settle there with the hope of making a living by literary work. His first place of abode after leaving Saarbrücken had been the university city Giessen, and while staying there he had come over to visit Goethe. That Wagner and Klinger were well acquainted was therefore one of the reasons why Goethe so easily admitted Wagner to intimacy, upon his migration to Frankfurt. Goethe was in a state of extreme agitation at this time, as he awaited the appearance of *Weber*, not on account of its reception by the reading public, for he knew that it must be very successful, but on account of the impression that it would make upon Lotte and Kestner. His agitation would seek an outlet in extravagant conduct, and probably Klinger was the more welcome on this account.

It will be observed by the student that the whole account of Klinger and Wagner had better be transferred from pp 262-3 to p 256 of our translation. The corresponding alteration has been made by Duntzer in the new edition.

29 *Goethe reading Faust to Boie*, October 1774, vol 1 p 259 — To the quotation from Boie's letter Duntzer adds after "stamp of genius" — "His *Dr. Faust* is almost finished, and seems to me the greatest and most characteristic of all."

30 *Claudine von Villabella* — Among the dramatic plans mentioned at the foot of page 266 was that of the vagabond operetta *Claudine von Villabella* (see pp 282, 288) whose scene is laid in Italy. We do not yet know where Goethe found the material of this play.

31 *Klinger, Kayser, and Wagner in the winter 1774-5* — Insert on page 266 after "Egmont" — Just before Christmas 1774, Klinger came to stay a short time in Frankfurt. The friends led the old rollicking, crack-brained life together. Poor Wagner, who was painfully endeavouring to maintain himself, and who was now thinking of obtaining an appointment in some foreign country, found his best present consolation in the company of the young "geniuses." Klinger had already despatched his drum Otto to a publisher in Leipzig. Kayser was the victim of an unprosperous love for Sünchen, the daughter of the watchman belonging to the tower of the church where the elder Kryser was organist. The organist would not hear of marriage with a wife of such low rank, and his prohibition drove his son to despair, and made him meditate abandoning his native city. Yet the young fellow's grief proved no bar to his joining the life of mad merriment of his friends. In the early days of January 1775 Goethe sketched Klinger before his return to Giessen.

32 *Goethe's first meeting with the Stolbergs in 1775*, vol 1 pp 284, 290 — It will be needful to modify the account of Goethe's first meeting with the Stolbergs, and of his subsequent visit to Switzerland in their company, in accordance with the following new matter. All stands which is not touched on in these additions. On May 3, 1775, Goethe writes to

Henriette Knebel — As usual I am living in a whirl and in immoderate ness of pleasure and of pain Immediately after this Freiherr von Haugwitz of Silesia a young man of twenty three arrived in Frankfurt He came from Paris and had arranged to meet the young Counts Stolberg in Frankfurt thence to proceed with them on a trip to Switzerland and Italy In the time intervening between his arrival and the arrival of the Stolbergs he had grown very intimate with Goethe when the Stolbergs came indeed they heard that Haugwitz was at Goethe's house and sent thither for him Soon after Goethe presented himself and supped that night with the Counts They became warm friend in the first few hours He is a splendid man writes Christian Stolberg to his elder sister A wealth of ardent feeling streams from every word from every gesture he is excitable and enthusiastic even to violence but from amid that very violence the tender loving heart looks forth

Klinger was staying in Frankfurt at the time of the Stolbergs arrival Since we saw him last he has rapidly finished a new drama *Das leidende Heb* and a remarkable on page 40 of our translation had sketched Goethe in the Doctor in this play Klinger became the inseparable comrade in they visited Mainz on May 18, he never prevented them all went to Offenbach together and there Goethe introduced his friends to a beautiful maiden—a rare creature—with whom he flirted a few hours in the autumn

A bad mistake on page 86 due to an oversight of the translator may be mentioned here For marriage of the Hereditary Prince and Luise read contract of betrothal The marriage of the young couple took place in October 1775 See vol i pp 302 and 303 vol ii p 374

The Stolbergs arrived in Zurich on June 9 1775 or a day after Goethe (see p 289) They had visited Goethe's sister in Emmendingen on their way

On the day after the visit to the peasant Jakob Gujer (p 89) the party sailed on the Lake of Zurich (June 13 1775) They visited the convent of Einsiedeln Goethe read to the Stolbergs a great deal from manuscript Without doubt the scenes of Lust were part of what he read

The exact date of Goethe's return to Zurich from the Lesser Cantons is now known to be June 25 1775 An extract from the Diary of the Physical Society of Zurich reprinted in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* 1881 shows that the Stolbergs Goethe Haugwitz and Passavant were present on June 26 1775 at a meeting of the Society At this meeting Laeter read a paper on Physiognomy

I derive from the *Goethe Jahrbuch* in 47 the following reference which is here in place —The *Grenzboten* Band iv Fine Letters from F L Stolberg to J H Voss on the Swiss Journey of 1775 ranging in date from March 18 to July 9 1775

53 *Lili and Goethe in Offenbach* vol i pp 284 293 —The name of

Lili's uncle in Offenbach at whose house she used to visit was not D'Orville but Bernard. The D'Orville who, with Goethe, accompanied her on horseback on August 3, 1775, was the husband of another niece of Bernard's S. Bernaid, to whom she was betrothed in June 1776, was a relative of her Offenbach uncle (p. 376)

34 *The Stolbergs in Weimar*, vol. 1 pp. 315-316 — The date of the arrival of the Stolbergs in Weimar is not November 27, 1775. They came on the evening of November 26, having visited on their way the Court of Gotha, so unfriendly to Goethe, and Dalberg in Erfurt, and on their arrival in Weimar greeted the poet with loud rejoicing. But on the morning of November 27 he had to set out for Erfurt with the Duke. On that day the Stolbergs went to see Wieland, whom they found in raptures about their Wolf, and whom they thought remarkably amiable.

To the extracts from Christian Stolberg's letters, describing their life at Weimar, the new edition adds this from one of Friedrich Stolberg's —

'In the forenoons we were either with Goethe or Wieland, or we rode out with the Duke—sometimes on a hunt. After dinner there were games played, blind man's-buff or run-the gauntlet. Between seven and nine there was a concert or *vingt-un*. One afternoon Goethe read aloud his half completed *Faust*. It is a noble work. The Duchesses were powerfully affected by some scenes. The evening preceding the last day of our stay we were at Prince Constantin's [see p. 311], the Duke, the Statthalter of Erfurt, an excellent man of understanding, Goethe, and many cavaliers of the Court, supped with us. We had soon finished, and were in high spirits, when the door suddenly opened, and lo! the Duchess-Mother and the beautiful Frau von Stein stepped solemnly into the room each with a sword three yards long in her hand. They had come to dub us knights. We knelt, and the two ladies went pleasantly round the table from man to man. Afterwards we played blind-man's-buff a long time. On the last evening after we had taken our leave at Court we supped with Goethe and Wieland alone.'

35 *Klopstock, Friedrich Stolberg, and Goethe*, vol. 1 pp. 332, 333 — Duntzer adds, in the new edition, some interesting particulars as to Friedrich Stolberg's behaviour at the time of Goethe's breach with Klopstock. To fully appreciate Stolberg's attitude we must remember that not long before he had written the extraordinary *Song of Freedom, from the Twentieth Century*. During his recent visit to Weimar he had shown this poem to Karl August, who was extremely pleased with it. Karl August asked whether he would not dedicate it to the "Great Friedrich," whereupon he wrote a bitter dedication of it to the King of Prussia in doggerel verse, and this, too, was well received. (See Duntzer's new edition, p. 263.)

But this singer of freedom and thirster for the blood of tyrants proved unable to understand Goethe's manly resentment of the foolish credulity of Klopstock. We find him calling Goethe "a *Staukopf* in the highest

degree (*Starrkoff* means a mulish obstinate person) In a letter to Klopstock Stolberg writes — Goethe's obdurate will which if it were possible he would gladly assert in opposition to God Himself has often made me tremble for him my Stolberg thought that he remembered ere he and his brother left Weimar to have heard Goethe speak one day of giant intelligences which do not bow before even the eternal truths of Revelation God ! exclaims Stolberg what a medley a Titan lifting his head against his God and not dizzied by the favour of a Duke I erhaps continues this silly letter Klopstock who so early recognised what an iron neck Goethe's is had been thinking of the sinner when he wrote the poem *Warning* (This had come out in the last *Musen almanach*)

36 *Klinger in Weimar* vol 1 p 335 — Though Goethe received Klinger with cordiality he was extremely concerned to learn that Klinger had given up his course of law study at the University shortly before it was completed and had accordingly lost his degree Klinger had literally played the truant from Giessen hoping to obtain an appointment in Weimar by Goethe's influence It was however absolutely impossible to Goethe to obtain a place for one of his friends in the Duke's service In any case Klinger was at that time so unsuited for a place in the administration of Government that Goethe could not in honesty have recommended him to the Duke What need had the Duke or Weimar indeed at that moment of a stormy dramatic poet ! At the same time Goethe knew well how dependent on Klinger was the poverty stricken family in the bare little house in Frankfurt It is no wonder that Goethe's heart was sore when he thought of the foolish act to which a foolish belief in his powers had led his friend

The breach between Lenz and Goethe in November 1776 is mentioned vol 1 p 36. Ere this Goethe had been estranged from Klinger by the latter's self abandonment to loose living To this cause we must add the bad offices of Lavater's mean protégé the so called *Kraft apostel* Christof Kaufmann Kaufmann who thought to worm himself into favour with Goethe at Klinger's expense was only too successful in poisoning Goethe's mind This he did the more easily because Klinger had withdrawn from intercourse with Goethe Kaufmann's arts were employed to prevent a personal explanation between them Klinger and Goethe had no communication for many years after this In the beginning of the period of estrangement Klinger became a writer of dramas for the boards and plunged deeper than ever into the excesses of the *Sturm und Drang* and into a wild life of sensual pleasure Later he went to Russia entered the army and rose to high rank There was a friendly correspondence between Goethe and Klinger in their old age See the *Goethe Jahrbuch* III 248 276 and vol II of this translation p 428

37 *Goethe and Karl August Frankfurt 1779* vol 1 pp 371 2 — Since the first edition was published the *Goethe Jahrbuch* for 1881 has re

printed a letter from the Frau Rath to the Duchess Amalia. The letter is dated 24th September 1779. We learn from it that the Duke and Goethe arrived in Frankfurt on September 18, 1779. Duntzer, in a long extract, permits Frau Aja to speak for herself. In 1778 the Duchess Amalia, on a trip to the Rhine, had visited Goethe's parental home. Hence her intimacy with the Frau Rath.

"His Seiene Highness, our most gracious and best prince, in order to take us completely by surprise, alighted at a distance from our house, they came, accordingly, without any noise at all to our door, rang, walked into the blue room, etc. Your Seiene Highness will now picture it, how Frau Aja is seated at the round table, how the door of the room opens, how, in that moment, her *Hatschellans* falls on her neck, how the Duke remains for a while at some distance looking on at the maternal joy, how Frau Aja, like a drunken woman, at length runs up to the best of princes, half crying, half laughing, not knowing in the least what she ought to do, how the handsome *Kammerherr von Wedel* also shows all possible sympathy in her prodigious joy. Finally, the entry of the father, this passes description altogether, I feared lest he should die on the spot."

To the Duke's relief there were no princes or princesses at the Fair of Frankfurt—it was a great escape from boredom. On Sunday, September 19, 1779, the travellers went to a concert at the Red House, the largest inn in Frankfurt. On Monday and Tuesday they attended the theatre. Merck came over from Darmstadt "and behaved pretty well," says Frau Aja, "he is, indeed, never able to leave off the Mephistopheles completely, but his friends are used to it now." On Wednesday, September 22, 1779, about noon, Karl August and Goethe, accompanied by Merck, left Frankfurt. The reader will make a correction on page 372 at the beginning of the second paragraph.

38 *Goethe's visit to Schubart in 1779*—Carlyle has made English readers thrill with indignation at the wrongs of poor Schubart, whom the tyrannical Duke, Karl of Wurttemberg, shut up without trial in the castle of Hohenasperg. Schubart was a passionate admirer of the young *Sturm und Drang* Goethe. On p. 55 of vol. II of this translation will be found a foolish notice of Goethe's Italian journey, from the paper edited by Schubart in 1788. Whether Goethe visited Schubart on the Swiss journey of 1775 is, I believe, not yet certain. It is, however, certain that when Goethe and Karl August were in Stuttgart at the close of 1779 (see vol. I p. 381) they went to see Schubart at Hohenasperg. They were accompanied by *Domanenrath* Georg Hartmann, to whom Lvater had given them an introduction. Hartmann's account of the presence in Stuttgart of Goethe and Karl August is quoted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882, by his great-grandson, J. Hartmann.

39 The footnote No. 1, vol. I p. 383, is superseded. There is no longer any doubt that Duntzer is correct in assigning January 14, 1780, as the date of the return of Goethe and Karl August to Weimar.

APPENDIX TO VOL II

I Herder's institution to Göttingen vol ii pp 14 78 ,9 —In the spring of 1789 when Herder was in Italy he received a vocation to a professor's chair in the University of Göttingen. For the third time in Herder's life a Göttingen professorship seemed to be within his reach

had put an end to the negotiation in
he had himself refused the chair In

I Heyne unfeignedly endeavored to per-
suade him to leave Weimar The advantages of the professorship in
Göttingen were forcibly urged by Heyne whose appeal was supported by
other voices

The indecision the timidity of soul of Herder at this time are very
remarkable Full evidence of his pitiable state will be found in his corre-
spondence with his wife in the book called *Herder's Reise nach Italien*
(1859) Life hitherto had much bitterness and disappointment for
him was it to be so always

promise better things?

enjoyment that he hoped

trusted with Goethe's pleasant artist life in Rome The very importance
of the issue of his choice made him indecisive and timid Under these
circumstances he received a letter from Goethe It was forwarded on
May 10 1789 by Caroline Herder and was received by Herder when in
Parma —

I want this letter to meet you somewhere in your travel as I hear
from your wife that you cling more than is desirable to the thought of

If it is your advantage your

But when we wish to make

not despise what is in our pos-

sition already Do not form any resolve until you return then let us
weigh everything and the welfare of you and of your children shall decide
For the present strive to calm yourself Alone without advice without
the voice of a friend agitated by the multitude of phenomena uneasy
and the discomforts of the journey—that is in truth no place to form a
resolve which is to determine your future lot The occasion demands

calculating, not feeling, it is a time for deliberate pondering of advantages, not for thrusting a hand into a lottery-urn.

"The state that you and your wife are in at present makes me very uneasy. If you cannot rely in trust and confidence on a friend whom you have long known intimately, you are in danger of ruining yourselves for life."

"I repeat it. What concerns me is not the welfare of Weimar or Gottingen, but of you and yours. Consider that you are not as a young man who risks his individual fortune in the game—a fortune which may afterwards improve, though it be once injured, but that your change would be made when you are in advanced years and have a large family, and that your spirit (*Gemüth*) and your wife's would not sustain the grief of finding the situation in Gottingen a failure, and its circumstances oppressive."

"Make a happy journey and come back to us refreshed, then we will consult, and your welfare shall be the highest law."

"Farewell! I have borne up stoutly and am well and happy. Yet I need in more than one relation your blessing and your aid, which you will not refuse me, even though your resolve should incline to departure from us. Farewell!"

This letter shows that Goethe understood the Herders well. He wrote to Caroline Herder a little later—"Only I beg you henceforth do nothing in the Electri mood, and be good and ask my advice. I may be mistaken in single instances, in the general I will never fail. Only write to him again and again not to engage himself to Gottingen further" (Caroline Herder was the passionate Electri contrasted with the divine repose of Iphigenia).

Herder was, however, unable to respond to Goethe's friendliness. In his letters to Caroline he continually makes little of Goethe. The secret cause of this was one which Herder would probably have been ashamed to acknowledge. He was made jealous by the friendship of Caroline and Goethe. Long ago before he was married he had been jealous of Goethe, and in those days his letters to Caroline had been full of harsh remarks about the young friend of whom she wrote with such enthusiasm. So it was now with his letters from Italy. Moreover, the fundamental difference between Goethe and Herder as to the relation of art and morals was beginning to render Herder unjust to Goethe's poetry.

Meanwhile Goethe continued to urge Herder's claims on the Duke. On June 15, 1789, Caroline forwards to Herder a letter in which Goethe writes—"The Duke has lately said to me that he will give you 1800 thalers annually in order to make you more easy in your domestic circumstances. Now if he pays your debts—that again is an increase to reckon on, of 200 thalers for ten years, not taking the interest into account. This is preposterous!" Ere this Caroline had sent to Herder a statement, dated May 3, 1789, of the "heads" of the Duke's offer to Herder. Herder received it on May 31, 1789. He was not content with it, and after his return he succeeded in having it modified in his favour through the influence of

Goethe Herder's distrust of the Duke made Goethe's task a by no means pleasant one I now give the Duke's offer and the changes in it which were confirmed by the Duke in August 1789 The Duke write —

1 I will pay his debts and in such a way that it will not become known to the public

I will make him Vice President of Consistory and upon Lyncker's death he shall be President

3 From the time of his return the private salary which he receives from me shall be 500 thalers instead of 300 [Herder demanded and obtained 700 thalers]

4 I will guarantee to secure him the Chancellorship of the University of Jena through my influence with the other states who have part in maintaining that University [This Herder declined.]

5 I will guarantee a widow's portion of 200 thaler annually to his widow [Herder demanded and obtained 300 thalers]

6 I will provide for the expenses of his children's studies and for their establishment in life

Herder becoming Vice President of Consistory gave up some church dues by which he lost 11 thalers annually Though Goethe's management he obtained compensation for this The Duke every year made a gift of 50 thalers for the provisional education of Gottfried Herder and 50 thalers for August while the Duchess Luise contributed 50 for Wilhelm When Goethe brought word of this Caroline said to him in the presence of Herder Of course the Duke does not suppose that by these gifts he fulfills his promise to provide for our children's studies No replied Goethe We must however said she have a written assurance on this point from the Duke No replied Goethe with signs of vexation that is not necessary we must not now when the Duke displays generosity make him angry by such a demand And so that matter rested for the time

In order to lighten the demands on his purse the Duke resorted to a measure which turned out to be most injurious to Herder Before Herder appointment as Vice President of Consistory a member of the Government one of the senior Councillors of State had always sat as Councillor of Consistory at the meetings of Consistory and had acted as colleague of the President in matters of administration For this he had received a salary of 200 thalers To save this 200 thalers the Duke ordered that henceforth there should be no permanent Councillor of Consistory The Councillors of State should in turn each for a year fulfil the duties of the post Let it be imagined writes Caroline with what a temper all these gentlemen henceforth entered on their office—embittered against Herder whom they looked on as the robber of the salary Then changing every year had bad results it took each almost a whole quarter to become familiar with his manifold duties and these duties were without interest to him for what had he to gain by them?

It will be shown in a later Article in this Appendix how the Gottingen

occision and the incidents connected with it had consequence of great interest to the student of Goethe's life, because they are the proximate cause of the breach between Goethe and the Herders which occurred in 1795.

2. *Goethe in Lübeck in December, 1789*, vol. II, p. 52 — On December 1, 1789, Goethe went with Karl August to Lübeck. In the evening they were present at a Court Assembly. An eye witness describes the reception of the Duke. All the officers present went forward to meet him. He was dressed in his white and red regimental uniform, and in great cavalry boots, and was accompanied by Goethe and by *Kämmerer von Wedel*. "Goethe has grown much more formal, more courteous like him, marching along, in a cinnamon brown, 'top' jacket' with a fur hat, sword at side, paying compliments, like the most formal *Herrn* of all." The Assembly was filled with curious observers of Goethe, but he played the part of a punctilious servant of the Duke with such thoroughness that our eye witness could find nothing more worthy of remark. Goethe's offence against convention in the matter of *Chri-tran-Vulpius* made him more exact in attending to external Court proprieties.

3. *Goethe and the Princess Goltz*, vol. II, pp. 112-113 — The time of Goethe's stay in Munster has become known thru' the book entitled *Die Lüneburgische Gallerie und ihre Freunde*, by Joseph Gollinck, which contains some heretofore unprinted private documents from letters of the Princess and her daughter. Goethe stayed in Munster December 25, 1792 (thus the translator's note I on page 111 is superseded). (On the arrival in Pempelfort is more nearly fixed by a letter from Goethe to Heinrich Meyer, Dusseldorf, November 13, 1792. This letter is reprinted in Strehlke's *Lebensgeschichte von Goethes Briefen*, vol. I, p. 562. "Viele Tage besinde ich mich hier bei meinem Freunde Jacob," writes Goethe.)

In the new edition Duntzer makes use of the correspondence between Goethe and the Princess published in the *Goethe-Journal* for 1882. On December 2, 1793, the Princess writes — "Without knowing it, you have been the occasion of many a delightful hour to me in Holstein." (She had been ordered by her physicians to travel on foot for the benefit of her health, and in the summer of 1793 she had made a pilgrimage to Stolberg's home in Lutin.) "As one who had seen you face to face, I was repeatedly called on to speak of you, to which I am not very loath. To write Stolberg especially it was pleasurable to speak of you, because he loves you so dearly, and I know no one who accepts the beautiful and good in all forms with a more ingenuous, childlike sense than he. With many others I was for one reason especially glad to speak of you, viz. because I conceive myself to have a somewhat more penetrative knowledge than most of them of that singular nature of yours, at which so many even of the noblest and best men are occasionally amazed incorrectly, or are not amazed. Without, however, finding any ground for pride in this knowledge! for I feel too sincerely that had you taken pains to play the Proteus

with me as you have with so many worthy folk it would not have gone a bit better with me. And therfore I will not on my side play the ingrate with you rather I will plainly confess that I do not ascribe the openheartedness and simplicity with which you constantly displaye l your self to me—but especially in a few hours that I can never forget—that I do not ascribe them to dislike of the trouble of seigning but *to a resso:* which I find in my heart so often as I think of you How often I think of you you will only be alle to imagine in proportion as you transpo e yourself from the rounded sphere of your proud sufficiency to yourself into my neediness and insatiety and thence look back to the plinct Goethe

When the Princess was at Lutin in August 1793 she had written to Goethe and had enclosed a very affectionate letter from Irie Inch Stolberg with a birthday greeting for which Goethe thanked Stolberg cordially

on reading

L 1 140)

and now

he found him engaged in a kind of obscuration of truth and intelligence There is a considerable likeness between the case and that of Lavater (vol 1 pp 45 454)

On January 24 1795 the Princess writes — I can make myself thoroughly melancholy dear Goethe, when I consider how long it is since I wrote to you last and under what circumstances I have been silent Precisely since the time when you sent such a straightforward and friendly reply to my inquisition into your conscience an inquisition only just fied by my true unselfish love for you precisely at the time when Jacobi as he has told me wrote to you that he had revealed to me your so called hypocrisies—never indeed more than at that time did I feel a greater constraint to open myself to you to at least say to you that your hypocrisies have not in the least bit diminished my love for you that in so far as you really when with us, thought less of Christ than you showed it was because you felt no need to think better of Him (and even had you felt this need you could not seek to satisfy it from such spiritual poverty as mine) for this I owe you thanks since in your beha iour I saw only tender forbearance which I would not call hypocri y (though thi worl in the mouth of the most honest among the children of men who confessed himself to be a partner in the wrong doing could not frighten me) My conception of you dear Goethe is based neither on what you have said of Christ and of Religion nor on the opinions which you may have concealed by being silent but on the belief that you not only endeavour after an eternal comprehension of the Beautiful in all its species and forms wherever you become aware of it by that most vivid most rich most delicate emotional sympathy for the Beautiful with which you are endowed by Mother Nature but that you endeavour to adopt into your own being as much of the Beautiful as you can by a life's embl n^r it (as Plato pre es himself in his beautiful letter to Dion) that the portion of what in my eyes is Beautiful or in my eyes is uncomely which you do

elled to leave Weimar repeatedly and seek restoration at a watering place So bitter against Karl August was he that when his elder sons were beginning their more advanced studies he omitted to claim the aid wh ch was promised in the sixth article of the Duke's offer of 1789 But at the close of 1794 the Herders being in great need of money Caroline Herder wrote to Goethe that as in the spring their sons Wilhelm and

only from Caroline Herder's account the original must have contained such abuse of the Duke and of Goethe himself as rendered it impossible to notice it for he made no reply Five weeks later he came to see Herder Caroline seized the opportunity and in her husband's presence she requested an answer to her letter He walked up and down the room my husband and I sat and looked at him he scarcely glanced at us looked straight before him and murmured something—as well as we could make out Nicht darauf antworten! (Not reply to it!)

The Duke was very angry with Herder and his wife For years they had told him nothing of their affairs and he considered that he had at least a

Imprudent
ears through
him for the

annual contribution needed for the young people studies the Duke would have easily and gladly paid it according to the contract It was a very different thing to be asked for a large sum unexpectedly and the royal coffers of Weimar were not rapidly filled in those hard times when constant wars were draining the treasuries of all European States This statement of the case which is gleaned from letters a little subsequent to the date at which we now are will aid us in understanding the Duke's attitude On March 1 1795 urged by Caroline Herder himself wrote to the Duke asking for the loan The Duke returned an evasive answer Upon this Caroline Herder wrote to the Duchess begging her to support Herder's request The Duchess sent for Caroline and reminded her of the Duke's firmness of will there would be no use in seeking to change his decision The Duchess however gave her 500 thalers for Wilhelm and desired that when the time for Gottlieb's taking his degree drew near she (the Duchess) should be informed of it

Thus the matter remained during the spring and summer of 1795 In the autumn of 1795 the passionate Electra nature of Caroline could bear no longer delay she resolved to seek Justice and to appeal to the written promise of 1789 She wrote to the Duchess stating what the promise had been and praying her to endeavor to have it fulfilled She wrote at the same time September 21 1795 to Goethe begging for his aid and enclosing extracts from her letter to the Duchess On September 22 Goethe replied with heartfelt sympathy — How grieved I am by the disclosure of your circumstance I cannot express to you I will omit no

effort to effect what you wish. May I soon be able to give you good news!" A few days after this the Duke appointed a permanent Counsellor of Consistory, with the old salary of 200 thalers.

A few weeks later the Duchess sent for Caroline, and told her the Duke's plan for aiding the Herders as to their children. The Duke would pay the cost of Gottfried's doctor's degree at Easter August Herder should not for the present go to the University, but should work for a while in the Chancery of Weimar, and Adalbert should be set to learn farming on an estate in the Duchy of Eisenach. When Caroline came home and thought over this proposal, she felt it impossible to mention it to Herder. She wrote to the Duchess "He would feel it an intrusion on his paternal rights, that the Duke should desire to arrange the callings of his sons." She calls on the Duke to fulfil the contract "My husband has performed his part of it conscientiously, and more than duty demanded, and has lost his health by doing so. If he had known that the Duke would deprive him of his colleague in the Consistory, the greatest promises would not have detained him. I alone know what he has suffered in this—which the Duke can never make good to him. He has fulfilled his duty—more than he ought. His Serene Highness will now perform his part of the contract." Again "It is easy for His Serene Highness to set apart a definite provision for each son, and I most respectfully beg your Serene Highness to bring it about that the sum for Gottfried be most graciously paid to us at once." Caroline sent a copy of this letter to Goethe on October 14, 1795. He was at that time in Eisenach (see vol ii p 139) awaiting the Duke's commission to Frankfurt. As it was supposed that he had gone to Frankfurt the letter was sent thither, and it only reached Weimar on October 28, 1795. Caroline entreats Goethe thus "Recall compassionately to your memory that you were the instrument of the Duke in the negotiations [about Gottingen in 1789]. Do not suffer the Duke so insolently to break his promise. It is in this instance your duty to save the Duke's honour and morality. How has my husband deserved this faithlessness? Do not let us be driven to extremity, I urgently entreat you. I can prove that my husband brought his great illness on himself by the continual labour of the Consistory. Who shall make good to us this loss? I entreat you, for God's sake, save your own honour and the Duke's! I have been silent long enough, and I do not hesitate to say the plainest things to you. We need money, and must obtain it from the Duke, he owes it to us." Goethe replied on October 28, 1795 "I hope that things have changed since your letter was written. I cannot reply to what you say, we are too far apart in our way of thinking to be comprehensible to each other, and yet I do not wish to be silent. Perhaps Knebel will undertake to hear what I think." Caroline replied "I am perfectly willing to hear what you think through Herr von Knebel, and whether the words *Further, I will pay the cost of the studies of his children,* can be made to bear any other sense than that which they utter. O listen to the voice of your

conscience! All the honest support which you now give to the just demand of a family of seven children will be richly repaid to you by Providence at a time when you look not for it. It would be very human if you referred me to Herr Knebel! I will hear you calmly. Let us not treat the matter as enemies—appoint an hour I earnestly entreat.

Though Goethe just at this time awaiting Christiane's confinement was in a mood for ready sympathy with trouble and for charity he felt it impossible to continue such a correspondence. He could not continue to receive letters frantically accusing himself and the Duke as unprincipled men who needed to be solemnly reminded of their sacred duty. It was evident too that Caroline would cling to her fixed idea in defiance of all argument. Goethe accordingly resolved once for all to utter himself to her in a written statement of his view of the affair and thus bring his direct communication with her to a close. On October 30 1795 he wrote:—I take up my pen not in order to modify your opinion but in order to place mine before you. A personal conversation with you would not be advisable in these passionate moments we should not convince one another. You have already written to me what I ought not to read I must expect in a conversation to hear what I may not hear. Goethe then proceeds to an exact discussion of her charges against the Duke and shows how unjust those charges are. He then continues:

You calumniate the Duke and the Duchess you tell me of your hasty step and summon me with reproaches and threats to do good offices for you and yours while at the same moment by your acts you snatch the power from my hands. Already perhaps you can imagine how after such conduct I am compelled to regard your violent passionate outbreaks your illusion that you alone are perfectly in the right your impression that no one but you has a notion of honour a feeling of conscience. I permit you to hate me as you would any other stage villain I only beg you to form a clear conception of me and not to suppose that I will be convicted in the fifth act. By the Duke's offer your future was secured for some time the past (we shall omit old reckoning against one another) could have been set straight by some arrangement and we might have secured a cheerful prospect. But the evil lies much deeper I pity you that you must seek support from persons whom you do not love and whom you hardly respect in whose existence you have no pleasure and whose gratification you feel no call to promote. In sooth it is easier to make ado in extreme moments about the obligations of another towards us than by an even course of life and conduct to obtain those benefits for which after all we must incur the debt of gratitude. Believe this however through all your arguments and demands your natural disposition is plainly seen. How does it contribute to make things more pleasant that August during his short stay here says to every one who will hear him I am choosing the profession of mining because no one knows how long the present government will last but miners will always be needed. These are the family sentiments calculated to incite a prince to aid in the bringing up and settlement of chil-

dren!" After declaring that he will not read any reply to this letter, and will not again speak of what has occurred, Goethe closes thus "If you can command yourself to approach the Duke on the subject of the children's education and settlement, if you can make reasonable proposals as to the past and future, let me hear them through Knebel I know well that people return no thanks for the possible, to him from whom they have demanded the impossible, but that shall not prevent me from doing what I can for you and yours"

Such was the shall ending of the friendship between Goethe and the Herders—the Herders who many years before had given one another a mutual pledge never to misunderstand Goethe again

Goethe kept his promise to Caroline, and he succeeded in obtaining for Herder a grant of 1200 thalers, 600 to be paid in the beginning of the new year 1796 and the rest at Easter 1796 Moreover, the Duke after this paid large annual yearly contributions towards the education of Herder's sons August, Emil, and Rinaldo

The student who is anxious for exact knowledge of this episode in Goethe's life should obtain volume xliii of the *Piessische Jahrbucher* and read the three articles of Dr Bernhard Suphan Dr Suphan prints letters from the Herders' *Remains* which had not hitherto been published, and passages from Caroline Herder's *Recollections* which their editor, Georg Muller, had suppressed

5 *Goethe and Bottiger*, vol ii pp 197-198 —The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii 250 252, has printed two letters which Goethe wrote to Bertuch, the editor of the *Journal des Luxus*, about the theatrical criticisms of Bottiger The first letter is dated January 3, 1802 Bertuch soon after sent Goethe Bottiger's half-printed article on *Ion* In the second letter, dated January 12, 1802, Goethe writes—"I can only say that if you are not yourself disposed to set matters right, I go immediately to the Duke, and bring the whole affair to a head For I will either be relieved of office at once or be secured against such infamies for the future That perpetually busy distorter of truth may exercise his juggling arts in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* or where he will, but I will no longer suffer them to be practised in Weimar against me in my official capacity I request your statement on the matter before four o'clock, with the stroke of four my representation goes to His Serene Highness the Duke"

6 *Goethe's period of depression in the beginning of 1803*, vol ii pp. 206-209 —Duntzei in the new edition adds some interesting details to his account of this period One of the causes of Goethe's heart-sickness was undoubtedly Caroline Jagemann's excessive power in all the affairs of the theatre "Die Jagemann imponirt quantum satis!" writes Christian Vulpius, the brother of Christiane, to Nicolaus Meyer (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii 417)

On February 7, 1803, Christian writes—"Kotzebue has been banished from the country He is now selling his garden at Jena Kotzebue

has made himself hated everywhere Goethe does not reply to him but he shall be christised neverth less

On February 6 1803 Christian writes — I am very much grieved about the *Geheimerath* During seven weeks he has not left the house and lately when he went into the open air in his garden he fell down in a swoon The Court of the Dowager Duchess is almost at open enmity with Goethe and every one there takes the side of the rascal Kotzebue The people do not deserve Goethe That scoundrel has even a faction here can you imagine it? Only the Duke stands firmly by Goethe and has forbidden his territory to Kotzebue

On March 12 1803 Christian writes — That the *Geheimerath* is really ill though not externally is certain He has not been beyond the hall door now for nine weeks The Kotzebue affair has been very hard on him and he has a great deal of vexation caused by the cantatrice Jagemann who is *Everything* now The *Geheimerath* has a concert every Tuesday The opera singers sing at these concerts This week the Duke the Princess [Caroline] and Prince Bernhard attended He is now perfecting many poems and his play *Die natürliche Tochter* Every Sunday two actors and an actress dine with the *Geheimerath*

On March 17 1803 Christian writes — Things are pretty much the same with us as when I wrote to you a week ago Goethe still remains indoors The Duke said to him lately If I were able to make a sun I would send one into your house to you

On March 20 1803 we find Christian telling of the performance of Schiller's *Braut von Messina* (see the note on page 208) Yesterday *Die Braut von Messina* was at last given and many hundred Jena students who were present—season tickets not being available—were uncommonly pleased so well pleased that at the end of the piece they joined in a loud *rat* to the poet which was proposed by Herr Dr Schutz of Jena a thing which never happened in this theatre before Delighted as Goethe was with the success of Schiller's play he had to punish the offence against the rules of the Ducal Theatre

[Christian's letters to Nicolaus Meyer are skilfully used by Duntzer in adding little touches to the narrative during the following years 1803-6 Some of these details however though so well adapted for insertion in a narrative are not important enough for the special notice of an Appendix like this]

7 Deaths of Christiane's half sister and aint vol 1 p 2,7 — Christian Vulpius writes on April 19 1805 — August is in Frankfurt with his grandmother Christel [Christiane] is well but Ernestine has brought on consumption by her dancing and made it worse and even Starke despairs of saving her Ernestine lived until the beginning of 1806 On January 7 1806 Christian writes — This morning about eleven o'clock my sister Ernestine gently fell asleep for ever I am deeply grieved She is the ninth of a series of brothers and sisters who have

died. We have foreseen her death during the last six months, she was wasting away, and yet we weep now. We do not yet venture to tell the *Gehirnerath*, that Ernestine is dead. [Goethe is in very bad health.] Everything irritates and puns him dreadfully. He is not master of his emotions."

Again on March 3, 1806, Christian writes — "The day before yesterday, at seven in the morning, our good old aunt died of an apoplectic stroke after having an attack of chest-illness for two days." This old aunt and Ernestine Vulpinus had lived in Goethe's house probably since 1794. See vol II 122, and Duntzer's new edition, page 465.

8. *The completion of Faust* — To the various notices of Goethe's work at *Faust*, 1798-1806 (see vol II pp 162, 163, 181, 186, 191), add the following — The work which Goethe did when on February 7, 1801, he turned again to *Faust* (see vol II p 191) was the preparation of a clean transcript of the *Brock's scene*. Before going to Ohmrosch on March 25, 1801 (p 192), he filled the first great gap in his *Faust*. On October 22, 1804, Christian Vulpinus writes, — "I think Goethe will never again write any poetry, I do not believe, and just for this reason, that at this moment he has something under his pen, his *Faust*, too, he means to finish" (Probably the unnamed work that Goethe had on hand was a fore-piece. See vol II p 222.) In the spring of 1806 Goethe finished the First Part of *Faust* between March 21 and April 25. At this time the prologue *Wald und Hohl* was written. Cotta, returning from the Leipzig Fair, took away the manuscript in great joy. *Faust* was published in volume VIII of the new edition of Goethe's works, which appeared in 1808. See vol II of this translation, p 260.

9. *The French in Weimar, October 1806*, vol II pp 242-246 — The letters of Christian Vulpinus, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, II 423-424, and the new documents printed by Keil in his book *Goethe, Weimer und Jena im Jahre 1806*, have filled gaps in the narrative of Goethe's life during October 1806. In the new edition Duntzer has drawn on these two new sources, and has moreover re-examined Riemer's account. The documents which Keil prints are a collection laid aside by Goethe himself, and labelled *Acta, die traurigen Folgen des 14 Octobers 1806 beifügert, mit Documenten relating to the melancholy sequel of October 14, 1806*. The reader will supplement the narrative of vol II pp 242-246 from the following —

When at about five o'clock on the afternoon of October 14, 1806, the cannonade having ceased, French hussars began to enter the silent deserted streets of Weimar, Riemer and Goethe's son hurried to meet them with bottles of wine and beer. Many other citizens did the same. Goethe joined one group, drew from his blue overcoat a bottle of wine and handed it to a chasseur on horseback, who received it with a nod of satisfaction and stowed it away safe in his cloak. Then Goethe handed a package of tobacco to another rider, but was taken aback by the inquiry, Is it good tobacco? He replied smiling, that he could not say, because he was not a

smoker himself At that moment some shots were heard at a distance and the cry Qui vive? The soldiers rode off and Goethe hastened away¹

It was after this that Wilhelm von Turckheim came to Goethe and that Piemer saw the two going to the Castle Duntzer in the new edition corrects Augereau in Goethe's message to his home to Ney adopting the theory of Riemer's correctness. (See the translator's footnote p 243)

Among those who took refuge in Goethe's house during the sack of Weimar were Christian Vulpius and his wife. Hear the plaint of Christian to Nicolaus Meyer Weimar October 20 1806 —What a calamity has befallen us! On the 14th the unhappy battle of Jena lost in the afternoon at five o'clock the sack of our city began and lasted thirty six hours and has stripped me of everything For three days we were not in our house The fearful night howling lamentation and fire —ah God and my wife and the child for hours in the cold night beneath the open sky in the Park! Something good Yesterday the *Gehemerath* Goethe married my sister His house has been spared He has marshals in it continually We had better take at once all that Christian has to tell u On November 10 1806 he writes — From the 15th to the 17th October we were in the house of the *Gehemerath* Goethe and our own house with all that was in it was free to any one who liked to occupy it And that vas done with a vengeance! About sixteen men lived in it until at length Napoleon needing books from the Library grenadiers upon the requisition of his engineer d Alma were stationed in my house On the 18th October I moved into it but in what condition did I find it? Let me be silent as to that! Then daily billeting of soldiers on us one time we had ten men and no money no provisions! My sister helped us but it has cost the *Gehem erath* himself more than 000 thalers—twelve *emper* of wine alone His house his not been sacked he averted this on the first evening by wine and prudence then he obtained a safe guard as General Victor Marshals Ney Lannes and Augereau lodged with him at times twenty eight beds in his house but it has been a hard time for him yet he is well for which God be thanked

On October 17 1806 Goethe made the following entry in his private papers — We are alive! our house remains un plundered and unf red saved as by a miracle. The Duchess has lived through the most terrible hours with us to her we owe our sole hope of safety in the future as at present the preservation of the Castle The Emperor of the Occident resides in it The last sentence is erased and The Emperor is come substituted On that day Napoleon left Weimar and Goethe wrote to Gunther the letter quoted on page 244

Dentzel the Commandant whom Napoleon left behind at Weimar had been once a pastor and it was in Jena that he had studied theology He was a humane and courteous man and on being appointed Com

mandant of Weimar he did his utmost to reduce the disorder and to diminish the sufferings of the inhabitants. In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1807 Goethe notices the friendliness which Dentzel displayed. On October 17, 1806, Goethe and Wieland dined with him. Dentzel had ere this sent the following note to Goethe —“The General-Adjutant of the Imperial Staff begs Herr *Hofjäath* Goethe to be quite free from anxiety. The subscriber, the Commandant of the city of Weimar, will, at the request of Marshal Lannes and in respect of the great Goethe himself, take all measures to provide for the safety of Herr Goethe's house —G F DENTZEL” On October 18, 1806, Dentzel wrote to Goethe “I believe myself to be doing Herr *Hofjäath* Goethe the greatest service in allotting to him as guest Monsieur Denon, member of the Institut National and Inspector-General of Arts and Museums.” Goethe gave a warm welcome to Denon. On this day he sent to Dentzel as a token of gratitude and friendship a handsome set of Wieland's *Works* with this inscription —

“To General and City-Commandant Dentzel is dedicated this copy of the Works of our common Friend Wieland, with earnest gratitude for protection and kindness in terrible days, by Goethe, on October 18, 1806, and do not forget the trefoil of the 17th”

“The trefoil of the 17th” is the little group of three friends assembled at Dentzel's table.

In the weeks that follow we find Goethe very active on behalf of the University of Jena and its institutions. He constitutes himself a centre to which complaints and reports flow, and he spares no trouble to get grievances redressed. The private wants of his friends also were relieved by his solicitude and generosity. Keil's book has done the great service of enabling us to prove the large-hearted, humane Goethe's existence in this period. It had been assumed by the many who are never anxious to believe good things of our great men—who are, on the contrary, apparently anxious to prove them selfish and commonplace—that during the distress of Weimar Goethe “did nothing for the common weal, was not, in fact, at all concerned about it, retired into his own private existence, and was troubled about nothing but his manuscripts.” This theory is now no longer possible. Its assumptions are disproved by exact documentary evidence, and for the thousandth time in the narrative of Goethe's life, charity where we are ignorant has proved to be true wisdom.

10 *Goethe's need of money, 1812* —At the top of page 269 of vol II it is observed that the dangerous political situation agitated Goethe very painfully in March 1812, and he fled to Jena, and thence to Karlsbad. Duntzer adds in the new edition that Goethe was hard pressed for money at this time, and that he had to write from Karlsbad to Cotta, asking an increase of the sum paid for *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Cotta cheerfully granted his request.

11 *Riemer and Goethe*, vol II p 276 —Riemer became a professor in the *Gymnasium* of Weimar at Easter 1812, and left Goethe's house. That Goethe three years earlier had thought of such an appointment for

Riemer as desirable is proved by a letter printed in the *Goethe Jahrbuch* Band 1 (1880) On May 19 1809 Goethe writes to Riemer from Jena — I consider the occurrence of yesterday a fortunate one for the bad humour to which you have lately yielded must sooner or later bring about a scene and I confess that you have been putting my patience to hard tests However Goethe will subdue his irritation and they will again try to get on together as before At the same time he recommends that Riemer should look out for some appointment

Here too may find place Duntzer's mention of the disagreement between August Goethe and Riemer which occurred in 1816 The reader may suppose the following to be inserted on page 334 of vol II — August after the death of his mother entered with zeal into the management of household affairs and though Goethe would not cede his general authority to August and even desired that it should be externally manifest that he was the master we find August acting on his own judgment We know of a quarrel between August and Riemer in the period following close on Christiane's death The *Goethe Jahrbuch* Band II (1881) publishes a letter from Goethe to Piemer It is dated July 19 1816 On July 20 Goethe was to start with Meyer for the Rhine (see vol II p 337) Goethe writes — Before leaving I must say how much it pains me to see you my good Riemer in such a relation to my son that I have not been able to invite you to my house May all be set right by my return

III supplement

The *Goethe
the to Count
letter Coethe*

thanks Dietrichstein for having sent him some of Beethoven's compositions to Goethe's songs Ludwig Geiger observes that this letter is especially interesting because there is but one other letter printed in which Goethe utters an opinion on Beethoven's compositions Goethe writes —

Though I am not in a position to pronounce an artistic criticism on these compositions I can at least say this that I have derived great pleasure as well from the grace as from a certain singularity of character The other utterance upon Beethoven's compositions is in a letter to Marianne Willemer dated Weimar July 1 1811 It is a reply to her enthusiastic praise of Beethoven's music to *Egmont* The passage will be found on page 159 of *Goethe und Marianne* (1878)

Another point of contact between Goethe and Beethoven has to be mentioned The *Goethe Jahrbuch* (1 374 5) represents a letter from Beethoven to Bettina dated Vienna February 10 1811 I quote a passage from the letter — If you write to Goethe about me seek out all words that may express to him my passionate reverence and admiration I am myself on the point of writing to him about *Egmont* which I have set to music and in truth make me happy but who can return sufficient thanks to a great poet the most precious jewel of a nation

13 *Goethe and Friedrich Stolberg*—In June 1812 Goethe met Fritz Stolberg in Kulsbad. Goethe went to Stolberg of his own accord. Stolberg writes—"He was very friendly, showed emotion and joy, and I too was suffused with recollection of the long past days." But notwithstanding Goethe's cordial and trustful behaviour, Stolberg was unable to judge him with fairness, and we find him adhere to his old distorted conception of Goethe as a hypocrite and a vain ambitious man. It is a relief to turn to the judgment of Goethe in the letters of the noble Princess Galitzin, or to Goethe's generous utterances on Stolberg himself.

Goethe's grief upon Stolberg's death in 1819 is noticed, vol ii p 340. Duntzer in his new edition mentions how in June 1816 Goethe sent a letter to Stolberg by Knebel's son. In this letter he speaks of the recent death of his wife. Stolberg's reply was friendly—"I feel with you in your sad loss as it becomes so old and true a comrade, who commends himself to your remembrance from the bottom of his heart."

14 *To Nineteen Friends in England*, vol ii p 432.—This is the title of the poem with which Goethe acknowledged the gift of a seal. It was published in *Chaos*, and is dated there August 28, 1831. In a book which appeared immediately after Goethe's death, *Goethe's letzte literarische Thatigkeit, Verhaltniss zum Ausland, und Scheiden, nach den Mittheilungen seiner Freunde dargestellt*, by Dr Karl Wilhelm Muller, the gift is described in detail, then the letter is given with the subscription *From Fifteen English Friends*. Yet, farther on, the writer speaks of the *nineteen* friends, not fifteen, and proceeds to give their names. He gives fifteen names, and says that the other four are unknown. The fifteen names are those in the translator's footnote, page 433. Every German *Life of Goethe* speaks of nineteen friends, and Herr Professor Duntzer believes this number to be the correct one, he guesses that four contributors joined in the undertaking later than the fifteen others, and that Goethe had private knowledge of this fact through a letter from Carlyle. Mr Froude's *Life of Carlyle* does not speak of the gift at all. Before I received Professor Duntzer's note on the subject, I had thought it probable that fifteen is the correct number. On pp 255-257 of Goethe's correspondence with Zelter (vol vi) will be found a letter to Zelter from a London correspondent. This letter Zelter forwarded to Goethe. It contains an account of the gift to Goethe, "the gift of *nineteen* Englishmen and Scotchmen, each of whom subscribed two guineas." "Among these," proceeds the writer—and then he communicates fifteen names. The order in which he gives them is the order of K W Muller's book, the particulars about their literary work or relationship are those given by Muller, and some of the mistakes in spelling are the same in the letter and the book. I thought that this letter might have been the originator of a mistake which once adopted in *Chaos* would be confirmed and repeated. The article in *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1831, knows only of *fifteen* Englishmen. And the poem "Worte die der Dichter spricht," is quoted by the writer in *Fraser* with the superscription "Den *funfzehn* Englischen Freunden."

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